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HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

SWEET

London
HENRY FROWDE



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A
HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

WITH

FULL WORD-LISTS

BY

HENRY SWEET, M.A.

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD ; HON. PH.D. HEIDELBERG

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1888

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УРАРАЛ ОБОУНАТ

PREFACE.

THIS work first appeared in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-4. Additional copies were struck off for the members of the Dialect Society. I also put a few hundred copies into the hands of Mr. Trübner, so as to make the work accessible to the general public; these have long since been sold out.

My investigations were due to the combined influence of Bell's Visible Speech, Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, and the German school of comparative and historical philology, of which Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* was to me still the chief exponent. In attempting to trace the connection between the Old English vowel-system as revealed by its comparison with the cognate languages, with the early Modern one deduced by Mr. Ellis from his contemporary phonetic authorities, certain difficulties became manifest. It was evident that if the present distinction between *oo* and *o*, as in *moon*, *stone*, already existed in the Old English *mōna*, *stān*, it must also have existed in the intermediate Chaucer period, so that Chaucer's *o* in *mone*, *ston* could not possibly have stood for one and the same sound, as Mr. Ellis assumed. This self-evident objection to Mr. Ellis's view had also been made by Dr. Weymouth, and had been, indeed, foreshadowed by Rapp (see Ellis EEP II, 675). But with the *es* the parallelism did not seem to hold good. The correspondence was clear enough in the case of Old English *ē*, *ēo*, *ēa*, but Old English *æ* seemed to be represented by *ee* and *e*, *ea* at random, so as partly to justify Rapp's and Ellis's

levelling of Chaucer's long *es* under one sound. On further examination it turned out, however, that Old English *æ* became Modern English *ee* only in those words in which it corresponded to Gothic *ē*, as in *deed*. The inference was clear, viz. that in the dialect which gave rise to Standard English the West-Saxon *æ* in *dæd* must have been represented by *ē*. The difficulty of the lengthening of the close Old English *e* of *stelan* into Modern English *ea* was cleared up by a comparison with similar changes in the Modern Scandinavian languages. Rough and tentative as these investigations were, they sufficed to show that the development of English sounds followed definite laws, and was not—as had hitherto been tacitly assumed—the result of mere chance and caprice.

My History of English Sounds was, therefore, originally an expansion of a monograph on the history of long *e* and *o*. At first intended to treat only of the vowels, it was afterwards made to include a sketch of the consonants. The word-list grew under my hands in the same way.

The defects of the book were the result of the inevitable gaps in the knowledge of an entirely self-trained student. In 1873 my undergraduate career at Oxford had only just come to an end, and Plato and Aristotle had so interfered with my own proper studies that my knowledge of Old English was at a lower ebb than it had ever been during the preceding five years. My ms dictionary was still only in the index stage, and the considerable stores of material it contained were therefore practically out of my reach, and I was obliged to rely mainly on Etymüller's lexicon and my own memory. Middle English I had hardly studied at all.

As might be expected, I had failed to keep pace with the advance of German investigation. I still kept the antiquated view of the priority of Gothic *i* in *stilan* etc. I had glanced through Scherer's *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, but my dislike to his theory of 'tone-raising'—well-founded as it

was—unfortunately prevented me from appreciating his explanation of the development of Old English *ēa*.

The most serious of my defects of method was my rejection of the principle of gradual sound-change in favour of change *per saltum* (Ellis EEP 18), although in practice (as in treating of the diphthonging of *ī*) I admitted that these leaps were infinitesimally small. Of the influence of stress in forming doublets etc I had no idea, although a phonetic student of living English might well have partially anticipated the later investigations of Osthoff, Paul and their fellow-workers.

I had, on the other hand, clearly grasped the distinction between phonetic and analogical sound-change. It seems now self-evident that the preterite *bore* owes its *o* to the past participle; but when I first propounded this view before the Philological Society, it met with opposition: people 'didn't see why' Old English *æ* should not become *o* merely because the Germans said it ought to become *a*.

Things have changed in the last fifteen years. The adoption of German methods is no longer a bar to recognition and success. Now too that the Germans are beginning to take up practical phonetics, its importance is beginning to be recognized in the land of its birth. German philology itself has been quickened into new life. English philology has been made a specialty in the German universities: it boasts a 'literature' of its own; it is even beginning to develop cliques and schools.

Nor have I been idle myself. My Old English dictionary collections have been brought into more manageable shape, and have been supplemented by similar collections from the Middle English texts. My range of languages—both dead and living—has been widely extended, with a corresponding advance in my command of sounds. I have done my best to keep level with the latest results of foreign investigation.

Hence the present second edition, while adhering to the general plan of the first, is in execution and detail an entirely

new work, which has not only been re-written from beginning to end, but is based on a fresh collection of materials. Its object is, however, the same as before—to sketch the development and history of English sounds from the very beginnings of articulate speech down to the present day, with such discussion of the general principles of sound-formation, sound-change, sound-representation and the development of dialects and languages as seemed necessary.

It is evident that so ambitious and comprehensive a scheme as this can only be carried out by subordination of details to general principles, and strict adherence to the main line of development. This main line of development itself need not and cannot be traced with equal fulness throughout. A history of English sounds which did not go further back than Old English would still be complete in itself, and might well content itself with a reference to other books for the Germanic and Arian sounds, which cannot be adequately treated of without going into the details of a considerable number of separate languages. Brugman's *Grundriss*, which is confined to the phonology of the Arian languages, takes up nearly six hundred pages, and yet it is—what it professes to be—a mere outline! But the main features of Arian phonology can be stated in a much smaller space, if the reader is contented to take them without detailed proofs. Such brief summaries of Arian and Germanic phonology as I have given in this book are, besides, useful for reference even to those who have studied special treatises on these subjects. At the time, too, when I wrote this book, Brugman's *Grundriss* had not appeared, and a knowledge of the latest results had to be laboriously gleaned from a variety of sources—often almost inaccessible to an Englishman. The ten pages into which I have condensed my sketch of the Arian sounds represent years of tedious toil and groping after light.

The most serious defect of the book is that I have not been able to make any general use of the modern English

and Scotch dialects, which (with a few brilliant exceptions) have been treated in such a way as to make them worse than useless for purposes of historical phonology. American English and Irish English are equally important and equally inaccessible at present.

In the present edition I have made less use than in the first of the living Germanic languages. The reason is that I feel too painfully the defects of my knowledge of them. In 1877, when my practical knowledge of them was still fresh, I wrote out for press a sketch of the comparative grammar of the six literary Germanic languages in their spoken form, but was unable to find a publisher, and the work is, of course, now antiquated.

I have abstained throughout from controversy or discussion of doubtful points, as far as possible. I have tried, to the best of my ability, to arrive at an independent judgment on each question by an impartial study of the evidence and the views of my predecessors and contemporaries. I have also abstained, as a rule, from giving references to the works of others, or attempting to settle questions of priority of discovery: this I leave to the future historian of nineteenth century philology. I will only add that many of the new views expressed in this work were first published (generally in a very brief form) in the proceedings of the Philological Society, where also may be found Henry Nicol's valuable contributions to the history of Middle English sounds and orthography.

The reader will observe several novelties in terminology, especially in the section on Sound-Change. I use 'Arian' instead of the clumsy 'Indo-Germanic'; as the word *āria* is always three-syllabled in Vedic Sanskrit, I see no reason for writing it 'Aryan.'

My use of the revised Visible Speech notation for exact purposes requires no justification. Although far from perfect, it is the only system which is universal in its application

and at the same time capable of being worked practically. Although experience shows that there is no chance of philologists agreeing on a general Roman system, I have given one in the chapter on Phonetics for the use of those who have not access to the Visible Speech letters. It will be observed that I use the less accurate 'Broad Romic' as a kind of algebraic notation, each letter representing a group of similar sounds.

In the chapter on Sound-Change I have aimed more at reliability than fulness: nearly the whole of the material is drawn from languages of which I have a practical knowledge.

In Sound-Representation the section on the Laws of Form-Change was suggested by the observations I made in working out a system of Shorthand on which I have been engaged for some years. That on Alphabets is based partly on an elaborate study of Old English palæography which I made many years ago, partly on Wattenbach's *Lateinische Palæographie*.

In treating of the Runes I have followed Dr. Wimmer's *Runeskriftens Oprindelse* (now accessible in a German translation) very closely. But at the same time I could not help feeling the force of Canon Taylor's arguments against the Latin origin of the runes, as stated in his *Greeks and Goths*. So I have had to steer a middle course in this hopelessly obscure question.

In the Modern English section I have relied for my material almost entirely on Mr. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*. To save the reader the trouble of constant reference to this great work, I have given the statements of Mr. Ellis's phonetic authorities in full, wherever necessary.

Especial care has been expended on the First Word-List, which is based mainly on my own collections, as far as Old and Middle English are concerned. For the early Modern period I have, of course, relied mainly on Mr. Ellis's pronouncing vocabularies. The Middle English quotations make no

pretension to completeness. At first it was my intention to confine myself to three or four representative texts, but, as might be expected, I found it advisable to widen my range as I went on. An ideally perfect list would, of course, give the forms not only of all the dialects of the three periods of English, but also of the cognate Germanic and Arian languages, together with references to the body of the work for explanations of obscure or abnormal developments, and would also include proper names, which I have only occasionally dealt with.

It is evident that any attempt to carry out this ideal would have involved another ten or fifteen years delay in bringing the book out, and would have swelled its bulk to an indefinite extent. In the present unsettled and progressive state of English philology and the utter uncertainty of its prospects in this country, excessive elaboration would be a waste of time. I am as fully alive to the defects of this work as any of my critics can be, but nevertheless when I see the great advance it is on the first edition, I cannot help regarding it with a feeling of satisfaction, which is not diminished by the reflection that its best portions are, after all, little more than summaries of the work of others. It is to me a source of some pride that, just as Henry Nicol and myself were the first to take up Bell's *Visible Speech* and apply it to linguistic investigation and the practical study of language, so also we were the first to welcome the revolutionary investigations in Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, and were the first in England (with the brilliant exception of John Kemble) to apply German methods to English philology, although from the beginning we set our faces against the 'woodenness' which then characterized German philology: its contempt for phonetics and living speech and reverence for the dead letter, its one-sidedly historical spirit, and disregard of analogy. So too at a later date, I was one of the first in England to welcome the 'neo-philological' reformers who have rescued German philology from its earlier

stagnation of methods. Of the many illustrious members of this school I owe most to Paul and Sievers. No one can read the chapters on general principles in my book without seeing how much I owe to Paul's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*. My debt to Sievers's *Phonetik* is seen in the chapter on Sound-Change, and in almost every paragraph that deals with Old English; Sievers's *Angelsächsische Grammatik* has indeed lighted up the obscure and tortuous paths of Old English dialectology and linguistic chronology in much the same way as Bopp's grammar lighted up the intricacies of Arian philology. I only regret that by an unfortunate accident I was prevented from utilizing the second edition of Sievers's grammar¹. My debt to Mr. Bell speaks for itself. My debt to Mr. Ellis is best expressed by repeating what I said in the Concluding Remarks to my first edition: "As regards my obligations to Mr. Ellis, I can only say, once for all, that without his investigations this essay would never have been written. It is essentially based on his results, of which, in some places, it is little more than a summary; while I have throughout drawn largely on the enormous mass of material stored up in the 'Early English Pronunciation'." If I had to dedicate this book, it would receive on its title-page the four names of BELL, ELLIS, PAUL, and SIEVERS.

HENRY SWEET.

Bath: 18th January, 1888.

¹ I may take this opportunity of saying that I have definitely abandoned my intention of bringing out a grammar to my *Oldest English Texts*. Those German scholars who have hitherto refrained from utilizing that work for grammatical investigations need no longer have any scruples on my account.

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ERRATA.

- § 22. 8. *transpose rising and falling.*
41. 7. *for that read those.*
168. 2. *omit Greek pente.*
p. 48. 10. *for dasennat read dosennat*
§ 186. 3. *for (η) read (g).*
202. 24. *for inner read outer.*
206. 13. *for (o)a read o(a).*
284. 1. *for jirnám read jirpám.*
252. 10. *for f read i.*
815. 6. *for E. read E. i.*

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS.

PHONETICS¹.

ANALYSIS.

1. IN the following sketch the revised Visible-Speech symbols² are employed for exact notation, with an occasional Romic transcription. The Romic symbols are enclosed in () where necessary to prevent confusion. They are sometimes used more loosely, especially in representing the sounds of dead languages (37).

2. Speech-sounds are generally formed with *out-breathing* or expiration (>), rarely with *in-breathing* or inspiration (<). *Suction-stops* or clicks, as in the familiar *tut!* ʈ, are formed without either out- or in-breathing.

3. **Throat Sounds.** When the glottis is wide open, the air passing through it produces *breath* (o); when the glottis is narrowed so as to make the vocal chords vibrate, *voice* (ɪ) is the result; if the chords are approximated without being allowed to vibrate, *whisper* (ə) is the result. If whisper is strengthened by contraction of the supraglottal passage or 'false glottis,' we get the *whheeze* (ʘ), as in the Arabic *Hha*, which can be voiced (ʘ), as in the Arabic *Ain*. The *Glottal stop* (x) is produced by a sudden shutting or opening of the glottis, as in a cough.

4. **Nasal Sounds** are formed by depressing the uvula so as to let the breath pass through the nose. Nasality is denoted by ɲ.

5. **Narrow and Wide.** *Narrow* (ː) sounds are formed with

¹ Sweet: Handbook of Phonetics. Sievers: Phonetik. Viator: Elemente der Phonetik.

² See my *Sound-Notation* in Trans. of Phil. Soc. 1880-1, II.

tensity and convexity, *wide* (ʋ) with slackness and flatness of the tongue. There are various degrees of narrowness, and it is possible to produce a sound which is exactly half way; the Norwegian short *i* in *fisk* is an example (fʃ).

6. **Vowels** are voice modified by different configurations of the superglottal passages, but without audible friction. By position they are either *back* (guttural), *front* (palatal), or *mixed*, that is, formed by a position intermediate between back and front. They have three degrees of elevation of the tongue, *high*, *mid*, *low*. When the tongue is lowered from the high position, the place of narrowing is at the same time shifted further back. So we have altogether nine positions:

high-back	high-mixed	high-front
mid-back	mid-mixed	mid-front
low-back	low-mixed	low-front

Each of these positions yields a different vowel-sound according as the tongue has the narrow or the wide shape. Intermediate positions are: *retracted* (◌) and *advanced* (◌), *raised* (◌) and *lowered* (◌). Each vowel-position can be further modified by *rounding* (labialization). Front vowels are rounded by the lips only (outer rounding), mixed and back vowels more by the cheeks (inner rounding). There are three degrees of lip- and cheek-contraction in rounding, high vowels having the narrowest, low vowels the widest lip-opening. When a vowel has a higher degree of rounding than belongs to its height, as when a mid vowel is formed with the rounding of a high vowel, it is said to be *over-rounded*, which is denoted by adding the 'rounder,' as in ʏ = the Swedish close *o*. The opposite phenomenon of *under-rounding* is denoted by adding the 'rounder' to the symbol of a front vowel, the 'inner rounder' (◌) to that of a mixed or back vowel, as in ʏ = Swedish *y*, ʊ = Swedish short *u*. Vowels are also capable of *point-modification* (◌), the tip of the tongue being raised while the vowel-position is maintained.

7. The thirty-six elementary vowels are given in the annexed table in their Organic and Romic symbols, together with key-words:

high-back-narrow 1 a. Gael. <i>laogh</i> .	high-mixed-narrow 1 i. Welsh <i>sn</i> .	high-front-narrow 1 i. Fr. <i>si</i> .	high-back-wide 1 a.	high-mixed-wide 1 i. pretty.	high-front-wide 1 i. bit. see sfo. f- pity, fear.
mid-back-n. 1 a. bet.	mid-mixed-n. 1 ä. G. gabe. Amer. <i>earth</i> 1v.	mid-front-n. 1 e. G. <i>see</i> . 1- Dan. <i>se</i> .	mid-back-w. 1 a. father. 1- Dan. <i>mane</i> .	mid-mixed-w. 1 ä. eye. better.	mid-front-w. 1 e. men. say sfr.
low-back-n. 1 v. Cockney <i>park</i> .	low-mixed-n. 1 ä. <i>sir</i> .	low-front-n. 1 æ. Swed. <i>lära</i> .	low-back-w. 1 v. Swed. <i>mat</i> .	low-mixed-w. 1 ä. how. Port. <i>cama</i> .	low-front-w. 1 æ. man.
high-back-n.- round 1 u. Fr. <i>son</i> . 1 s. Swed. <i>app</i> .	high-mixed-n.- round 1 ü. Norw. <i>hus</i> . 1 s. Swed. <i>hus</i> .	high-front-n.- round. f y. Fr. <i>lune</i> .	high-back-w.- round. 1 u. <i>pest</i> . two öta.	high-mixed-w.- round. 1 ä. value.	high-front-w.- round. f y. Dan. <i>lyst</i> .
mid-back-n.-r. 1 o. G. <i>so</i> . 1, Swed. <i>sol</i> .	mid-mixed-n.-r. 1 ö.	mid-front-n.-r. 1 a. Fr. <i>pew</i> . 1) G. <i>über</i> .	mid-back-w.-r. 1 o. G. <i>stock</i> . boy. no 113).	mid-mixed-w.-r. 1 ö. F. <i>homme</i> . follow 113).	mid-front-w.-r. f o. F. <i>pew</i> .
low-back-n.-r. 1 v. law. 1 Swed. <i>sä</i> .	low-mixed-n.-r. 1 ü.	low-front-n.-r. 1 æ. Swed. <i>för</i> .	low-back-w.-r. 1 o. not.	low-mixed-w.-r. 1 ä.	low-front-w.-r. 1 æ. p G. <i>götter</i> .

i; j; k; l; m; n; o; p; q; r; s; t; u; v; w; x; y; z; Æ; œ; Ø; ø; Å; å; Ä; ä; Ö; ö; Umlauts.

u; ü; o; ö; ə; ɔ; v; a; æ; ā, œ; ë, ø; ĩ, y; @; æ; e; i; ī.

9. **Consonants** are the result of audible friction or stopping of the breath in the throat or mouth. But in many consonants the friction is not audible when they are uttered with voice. When the friction is audible in a voiced consonant, as in *s z, v*, it is called a *buzz*, the corresponding breath consonants *s x, f*, being called *hisses*. All consonants can be formed either with *breath*, *voice*, or *whisper*. The last are denoted by *ː* *ˑ* = whispered *f*. Consonants are either narrow (*ː*) or wide (*ˑ*); in E. they are wide, *æ w* being equivalent to close (IO) *ɪ (u)*.

11. By place there are five main classes. (1) *back*, such as *ŋ*, *ŋ* (as in *sing*). (2) *front*, such as *ɲ* (in *you*). (3) *point*,

such as $\text{ɒ}t$, $\text{ɔ}l$. (4) *blade* (formed by the surface of the tongue immediately behind the point), such as $s s$. (5) *lip*, such as $\text{ɒ}p$, $f m$. Point and blade consonants are included under the general term 'foreward.' Most of these admit also of 'inner' and 'outer' varieties, as in the case of the vowels. Point consonants admit of *inversion* (ɕ), in which the point of the tongue is turned back, and *protrusion* (ɔ), in which it is protruded to the lips. Thus $\text{ɕ}ɕ$ is an inverted or 'cerebral' t . Some consonants are formed by a combination of two positions. Thus $z \int$ (as in *she*) is a *blade-point* consonant, $\text{ɔ}f$ a *lip-teeth* consonant, $\text{ɔ}p$ (as in *thin*) a *point-teeth* consonant, which is really equivalent to 'outer point.' When the point of the tongue is put between the teeth, the sound is called 'interdental.' All consonants are liable to be modified by the back-open (ɕ), front-open (ɔ), point-open (ɕ), lip-open (ɔ)=*'outer rounding,'* and lip-back-open (ɔ)=*'inner rounding'* positions. $\text{ɕ}ɕ$ =G. ch in *auch* is for convenience written ɕ , and $\text{ɔ}ɕ$ =E. wh is written ɔ . Other combinations are expressed by + between the symbols of the two elements, as in $\text{ɕ}+\text{ɔ}$ = k and p uttered simultaneously, or by means of the *blade-* (ɕ), *stop-* (ɔ), *open* (ɕ), *side-* (ɕ), *unilateral* (ɕ), *throat-stop-* (ɕ) modifiers. (*) is used as a general modifier, thus ɕ^* is any variety of p .

12. A general table of the consonants is given on the following page:—

VOICELESS.										
	Throat	Back	Front	Point	P.-Teeth	Blade	Bl.-point	Lip	L.-Back	L.-Teeth
Open	ʔ h <i>Ar. hha</i>	c x <i>G. ach</i>	ɔ ɛ <i>G. ich</i>	ʊ r h <i>Icel. hr</i>	ʋ ʃ <i>thin</i>	s s	z ʃ <i>fish</i>	ɔ φ	ɔ ʌ <i>what</i>	> f
Side	...	ɛ ʃh	ɔ th	ʊ lh	ɔ*			ɔ		
Shut	x <i>Glut. stop</i>	ɑ k	ɔ c <i>Hung. ty</i>	ɔ t	ɔ* <i>F. t.</i>	ɔ, sɪ	zɪ	ɔ p		
Nasal	...	ɟ ɳh	ɟ ñh	ɟ n h <i>Icel. hn</i>	ɟ*			ɟ m h		

VOICED.										
	ʔ ɹ <i>Ar. ain</i>	ɛ ʒ <i>G. sagen</i>	ɔ j <i>you</i>	ʊ r	ʋ ʒ <i>then</i>	s z	z ʒ <i>rouge</i>	ɔ β <i>South G. w</i>	ɔ w	> v
Open	ʔ ɹ <i>Ar. ain</i>	ɛ ʒ <i>G. sagen</i>	ɔ j <i>you</i>	ʊ r	ʋ ʒ <i>then</i>			ɔ β <i>South G. w</i>	ɔ w	> v
Side	...	ɛ ɹ <i>Russ. pakka</i>	ɔ t <i>Ital. gl</i>	ʊ l	ʋ*			ɔ		
Shut	...	ɑ g	ɔ j <i>Hung. gy</i>	ʊ d	ʋ*	ʋ, sɪ	zɪ	ɔ b		
Nasal	...	ɟ ɳ <i>sing</i>	ɟ ñ <i>Ital. gn</i>	ɟ n	ɟ*			ɟ m		

13. Each consonant has an inherent pitch of its own. The following are the pitches of the chief open breath consonants, beginning with the lowest :

ɔ	ɑ	c	>	ɔ	o	z	s	u	o
wh	xw	x	f	φ	rh	ʃ	s	þ	ç

14. There is a close relation between consonants and vowels. In many open voiced consonants there is no audible friction, and such 'vowellike' or 'liquid' consonants have quite the effect of vowels. These are ϵ ʒ, ϕ j, \mathfrak{z} w; ω r, ω l and the nasals. But ϵ and ϕ can also be buzzed. The two closest vowels \mathfrak{i} (i) and \mathfrak{u} (u) approximate so closely to the consonants ϕ and \mathfrak{z} respectively, that it is often difficult to draw the line. When devocalized these vowels cannot be separated from ϕ and \mathfrak{z} . The following are the most important of the relations between individual consonants and vowels :

ϵ +	ϵ	ϵ +	ϕ +	ϕ	ϕ +	ϵ +	ϵ	ϵ +	\mathfrak{z}	ϕ +	ϕ	ϕ +
j	]	l	l	[	f	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ

ω r may also be weakened into a kind of vowel; in fact, the E. r in *very* may be considered as an unsyllabic vowel.

15. The acoustic relations between consonants and vowels may be seen by comparing the tables of pitches. They generally agree with the organic relations. Observe that s and i are acoustically similar.

SYNTHESIS.

16. **Quantity.** For general purposes it is enough to distinguish three degrees of quantity or length: *long* (*), *half-long* (*), and *short* (*), the last being generally left unmarked. In practice the distinction of long and short is generally enough. Long vowels are doubled in the Romic notation.

17. **Force.** Loudness and stress (accent) depend on the force with which the breath is expelled (generally from the

lungs). In a single breath-impulse, as in the vowel *aa*, we can have three kinds of force :

level	$\mathfrak{f} =$
increasing	$\mathfrak{f} <$
diminishing	$\mathfrak{f} >$

The tendency in language is to utter with diminishing force.

18. The influence of force on the synthesis of speech is very important, for the sense of unity and separation depends mainly on it. *Continuity* of force gives a sense of *unity*, as in $\mathfrak{f} >$, $\mathfrak{f} <$, *discontinuity*, as in $\mathfrak{f} >>$, that of *separation*, the \mathfrak{f} being broken up into two syllables. Hence, every syllable (vowel-group) must be uttered with a single impulse of breath, as it would otherwise be split up into two. In language the tendency is against uttering two successive syllables with the same force.

19. The comparative force with which the separate syllables of a sound-group (word, clause, or sentence) are uttered is called *stress* (accent). There are three main degrees of stress: *strong* (\cdot), *half-strong* or 'medium' ($:$), and *weak* (\vee), the last being generally left unmarked. Weak stress is also marked by ($-$). In practice it is often sufficient to mark the strong stress only. The stress-marks are put before the element on which the stress begins. The tendency in language is to alternate strong (or medium) and weak stress. Thus, if such a group as *kalana* is stressed on the first syllable, the second is generally weak, the third medium or, at any rate, slightly stronger than the second: $\cdot\text{a}\mathfrak{f}\vee\mathfrak{f}:\text{a}\mathfrak{f}$. But in rapid speech such a word might also be pronounced $\cdot\text{a}\mathfrak{f}\vee\mathfrak{f}:\text{a}\mathfrak{f}$, with a single impulse of breath. The answer to the question, Where does the syllable begin? is, that if it has a distinct stress (strong or medium) its beginning corresponds with the beginning of the stress. If, on the other hand, the syllable is weak, it is often difficult to settle where it begins. Hence it is possible to alter the syllable division by shifting the stress from one element to another. Thus *at all* ought strictly to be pro-

nounced [ʊɪ̯w, but in actual speech the second syllable begins on the *t*: [ʊɪ̯t̪w.

20. The distinction between long and double consonants also depends on stress and syllabification: in [ʊw:] the consonant is long, in [ʊw:ɔ] or [ʊw(·)ɔ] it is double. Double consonants cannot occur finally or isolated.

21. A sound which can form a syllable by itself is called *syllabic*. Syllabicity implies an appreciable duration and force. The distinction between syllabic and non-syllabic is generally parallel to that between vowel and consonant. But those 'vowel-like' or 'liquid' voiced consonants which are unaccompanied by buzz are often also syllabic. These are *ɹ*, *l* and the nasals. Even voiceless consonants can be syllabic, as in *psst*, where the *s* is syllabically equivalent to a vowel by virtue of its length and stress, the unsyllabic *p* and *t* being comparatively momentary and stressless. A syllabic consonant is denoted by]: *ɪtɔ*] = 'battle.'

22. A vowel, on the other hand, can lose its syllabicity, especially in combination with another vowel, with which it then forms a *diphthong*. These diphthongic or 'glide-' vowels are written consonant size in VS, being, from a syllabic point of view, consonantal vowels, as in *ai*, where the group is uttered with one impulse of diminishing force, *ia*, which implies increasing force, the latter diphthong being almost equivalent to *ja*. *ai* is called a 'rising,' *ia* a 'falling' diphthong. *ai* with the second element lengthened ought to be considered a dissyllable, but it has the effect of a diphthong if the *i* is kept stressless.

23. *Glides*. In pronouncing any sound-combination, such as *ki*, we not only have the two sounds *k* and *i*, but also the 'glide,' or sound produced in passing from the one position to the other, which is implied by the juxtaposition of the symbols. The glide is called the 'off-glide' of *k*, the 'on-glide' of *i*. If the transition is made slowly, the glide becomes so distinct that it becomes necessary to write it separately. Thus *ai̯a* may be developed into full *ai̯a*, *ai̯a*. Glideness and nonsyllabicity generally go together, but it is often difficult to draw the line between

gliding and fixed configuration, especially in the consonants. Gliding quality is marked *˘*, when necessary, as in *˘ʊʊ* *try*, where *˘ʊ* and *ʊ* together have the same length as the single *ʊ* in *˘ʊ* *dry*.

24. Initial and Final Vowel-glides. Vowels may be begun and finished in various ways:

(a) The glottis is gradually narrowed, passing through the various positions for breath and whisper till voice is produced. This gives the 'gradual' beginning *ʔ*.

(b) The breath is kept back till the glottis is closed for voice, which begins at once without any introductory breath. This is the 'clear' beginning *ʔ*.

25. In both these cases the stress begins on the vowel. If it is thrown on to the preceding glides, they are at once recognized as independant elements, *ʔ* becoming *ʔ* *haa*, with the ordinary 'aspirate,' while *ʔ* becomes *xʔ*, with the glottal stop. *˘* is generally modified by the following vowel, whose configuration it partly anticipates. It is, therefore, the voiceless glide vowel-vowel corresponding to the vowel which follows, and is then written *ɛ*. *ɛf*, *ɛt* *hi*, *hu* are, in fact, equivalent to *ɛf*, *ɛt*, being almost equivalent to weaker forms of *ɛf*, *ɛt* *jhi*, *whu*.

26. Vowels are finished analogously:

(a) by a gradual opening of the glottis, the final glide passing through whisper to breath, giving the 'gradual' ending *f*.

(b) by a cessation of expiration while the glottis is still closed for voice, giving the 'clear' ending *f*. If uttered with stress these endings become respectively *f* or *f* and *fx*.

27. Consonant-glides. All consonants consist of three elements, (1) the consonant itself, (2) the on-glide, and (3) the off-glide. Each of these elements may be either breathed or voiced, and may be modified in various ways. The off-glides of stops are the most important.

28. The following are the combinations, as regards breath and voice:

INITIAL.	MEDIAL.	FINAL.
ɑʃ	ʃɑʃ	ʃɑʃ
ɑʃ	ʃɑʃ	ʃɑʃ
ɑʃ	ʃɑʃ	ʃɑʃ
ɑʃ	ʃɑʃ	ʃɑʃ

ɑʃ is the E. *k* in all positions, ɑʃ the E. final *g*, as in *egg*, and ɑʃ the E. medial *g*, as in *eager*. ɑʃ is the Middle and South German *k*. E. initial *g*, as in *go*, is often nearly ɑʃ, but there seems to be a trace of vocality in the stop itself. On-glides after vowels are generally voiced, but are breathed in some languages, as in Icelandic: ʃɑʃ, ʃɑʃ.

29. All stops, especially when voiceless, postulate a certain compression of the breath behind the stop, so as to produce an audible explosion when the stop is removed. However strong this explosion of a breath-glide, it is not felt as an independent element, unless the initial force is maintained during the formation of the glide itself. In this latter way are formed the Danish *aspirates* ɑʃ, etc., as in *komme*.

30. The glides of unstopped consonants are less marked, but the vocality of the consonants themselves is, on the other hand, more distinct than in the case of the stops. *s z*, etc., admit of 'gradual' and 'clear' beginnings and endings, analogous to those of the vowels; final *z* in E. has the gradual ending -ssʃ. After another buzz or voiced stop it is completely whispered in E., as in ʃʃʃʃ 'heads.'

31. Consonant-glides may be variously modified by rounding, etc. Thus E. 'cool' is really ɑʃʃʃʃ. We can also have such a combination as ɑʃʃʃʃ, distinct from ɑʃʃʃʃ (kma), which is equivalent to ɑʃʃʃʃ. In such cases the rounding is generally begun before the stop is loosened.

32. **Glideless Combinations.** In speech the general principle is to take the shortest way between two sounds. This often results in combinations which are effected without any glide at all. This is regularly the case in sequences of consonants having the same place and differing only in form. Thus in passing from ʃʃ to ʃʃ in ʃʃ all that is done is to close the nasal passage. Similarly, in ʃʃ *dl* the transition is

made by simply opening the side apertures, the tip of the tongue retaining its position. Combinations in which a stop is followed by open consonants formed in the same, or nearly the same, place are effected either with no glide at all, as in $\text{ɒ} > p\phi$, or with a very slight one, as in $\text{ɒ} > pf$. In such combinations as *ts*, *tf* the places of the two consonants are generally approximated as much as possible, so as to get rid of the glide, thus E. *ts* is really ɒs or sɪs , E. *ch* ɔz . Even when consonants formed in different places come together, it is possible to combine them without any glide, although in these cases the gliding must be regarded as the normal form. Absence of glide is marked (.). Thus E. *act* is ɔ.ɔ , the tip of the tongue being brought into position before the ɔ -contact is loosened, while in French and other languages there would be a breath-glide between the two consonants.

33. **Glide-consonants** in the special sense of the word are consonants formed without any fixed configuration, however much the transition may be prolonged. The most distinct glide-consonants are the *flaps*, of which the Norwegian 'thick' *l* is an example: an inverted *r* finished off with a momentary contact of the tongue-tip with the inside of the palatal arch, the tongue moving forward all the time.

34. **Intonation.** Changes of pitch or tone may proceed either by leaps or glides. There are three primary intonations: (1) the *level* (—), (2) the *rising* ('), and (3) the *falling* ('). There are also compound tones, formed by uniting a rise and fall in one syllable: (1) the *compound-rising* (°), (2) the *compound-falling* (°).

35. A level tone can be of any *height*, but it is enough to distinguish high-level (—) and low-level (—). The gliding tones can also begin at any height—low-rising ('), high-rising ('), etc. They can also be varied indefinitely according to the *interval* through which they pass.

36. Besides the separate intonations of which it is composed, each sentence, or sentence-group, has a general pitch or *key* of its own, which may be high or low. Changes of key may proceed either by leaps or by glides.

NOTATION.

37. The Visible Speech symbols have been fully explained in the preceding sketch. It is, however, convenient to have a more general notation, in which only the broader distinctions of sound are recognized. The following are the vowel-symbols of such a 'Broad Romic' notation, which can, of course, be supplemented by the more exact symbols already given :

- a *as in father.*
- æ „ „ *man.*
- e = *close (or open) e.*
- e = *open e.*
- ə = *any mixed or obscure vowel.*
- i *as in it.*
- o = *close (or open) o.*
- o, ɔ = *open o.*
- œ = *close (or open) Germ. ö.*
- œ = *open Germ. ö.*
- y = *Fr. u.*

Length is denoted by doubling.

38. In dealing with dead languages, it is generally most convenient to give their spelling unaltered, except by the addition of diacritics, as in \bar{a} =(aa), ϵ =open e, ϱ =open o, \ddot{u} =Fr. u, \dot{c} , \dot{g} =c, g resp.

SOUND-CHANGE.

39. Before entering on the subject of sound-change, it will be desirable to discuss the general question of word-division. The popular division of the elements of speech into sounds ('letters'), syllables, words, and sentences, is not purely phonetic, but also partly graphical and logical, especially as regards word-division. No amount of study of the mere sounds of a sentence will enable us to recognize the words of which it consists. The only division actually made in speech is that into *breath-groups*, due to the organic necessity of taking breath, which breath-groups correspond partially to the logical division into sentences. Within each breath-group there is no more pause than between the syllables of a single word. Thus, to the ear the word 'teller' and the sentence 'tell her' are identical in sound— tɛlɪər , and we cannot possibly analyse such a sound-group without knowing its meaning, and even then word-division is a complex problem.

40. At first, all sound-changes are carried out consistently through each breath-group, without regard to word-division. This primitive stage is clearly shown in the Celtic mutations. Thus in Welsh the change of *p* into *b* between vowels is carried out not only in single words such as *aber* from Old Welsh *aper* 'confluence,' but also in such groups as *dy ben* 'thy head' = *dy *pen*. The result of this and similar influences is that the Welsh word for 'head' appears in four different forms: *pen* pɛn , *ben* bɛn , *phen* pʰɛn , *mhen* mʰɛn , according to the original ending of the word preceding it. Now the logical side of language tends to rebel against such a multiplicity of forms, and in most languages we might predict that that form which is used at the beginning of a breath-group, viz. *pen*, would gradually supplant the three others, *dy ben*, for instance, becoming **dy pen*. In Welsh, however, these mutations were found useful for various grammatical distinctions—*fawr* fawr , for instance, being in certain collocations the feminine of *mawr* 'great'—and hence were preserved.

An equally primitive stage is preserved in the Sanskrit sandhi, only here it is generally the end of a word that is modified, as when **látas ca* becomes *látac ca* लृत्तच् च, the beginning of the next word being also modified in some cases, as when *tád çrutvá* becomes *tác çhrutvá* तच् च्रुत्तव् तच् च्रुत्तव्. These changes were no doubt carried out with absolute consistency. But as sandhi was of no use grammatically, it has been discarded in the modern Indian languages, as also generally in the other Arian languages, which in their earliest stages still show traces of it. But even in the present English we have such variations as *-ðə mæn*, *-ði æp*, *hiə -ðei aa*, *hiər -ij iz*.

41. Natural speech is incessantly **changing**, both as regards its phonetic and its logical structure. The child learns the sounds of its vernacular language by a process of slow and laborious imitation. This imitation is always defective. If the child has been carelessly taught, or if it suffers from intellectual or organic defects, the divergence of its sounds from that of its parents may be so marked as to make its speech unintelligible to outsiders. But even under the most favourable conditions there is some divergence, for it is impossible for the child to reproduce by mere imitation the exact organic movements of its teachers. Even when the individual has settled down to a definite sound-system of his own, he is still liable to modify his sounds from laziness and carelessness. Even if the changes thus produced in the transmission of a language from one generation to another were imperceptible to the ear, their repetition would be enough to account for the most violent changes, if we only allow time enough.

42. Hence we see that, as a general rule, all sound-change is **gradual**: there are no sudden leaps in the phonetic history of a language. Such a change as the frequent one of *ii* into *ai* presupposes a number of intermediate stages: [i], [i-ɛ], [ɛ], [ɛ-ɪ], [ɪ], etc. Hence also there are no simultaneous changes of a sound, only successive ones. Thus we cannot suppose a simultaneous opening and unvoicing of *m*, but only some such series as *F*, *ɸ*, *ɸ*, *ɸ*.

43. The sound-changes carried out within each language,

are uniform. This is the result partly of the tendency of the same mis-hearings and mis-reproductions of sounds to repeat themselves spontaneously in the pronunciations of most of the individuals of a community, but mainly of the social development of language, which tends to get rid of those new pronunciations which are in the minority. Even if two different organic tendencies were equally developed—even if one half of the children of a community mispronounced υ/β as σ , the other half as s —there would always be other considerations, such as distinctness, which, however trifling, would be enough to turn the balance.

44. But the consistent carrying-out of a sound-change does not necessarily imply that it is carried out everywhere, regardless of its position in the breath-group, its surroundings, and the influence of synthetic elements: quantity, stress, and intonation. On the contrary, most sound-changes seem to begin under special circumstances, and if they do extend themselves over the whole range of the sound in question, it is only gradually. A change such as that of σd into σt may begin at the end of a breath-group, and be then extended to the ends of words within a breath-group, as in German, and finally to all the σs in the language, as when every Arian d become a t in Germanic. Another change may begin in unstressed words, enclitics, etc.; thus the E. change of $\mathfrak{J}a$ into the \mathfrak{I} of *man* is partially carried out in the Swedish *a* in unstressed syllables, which is \mathfrak{J} .

45. One result of the variation of change according to the stress is the formation of doublets, such as E. ($kæn$) and ($kən$) = 'can,' the *weak* or unemphatic ($kən$) being the regular representative of the *strong* ($kæn$) when unstressed. Here weak coincides with unstressed. But it often happens that an originally stressed strong form comes to occur unstressed also; thus the strong ($hæv$) is used both stressed and unstressed, but with a difference of meaning in such a sentence as ($-juwl\ hæv -tə -hæv -jo\ heə :kat$), the weak ($-hæv, -əv$) being used only as an auxiliary. (Originally weak forms often come to be stressed. Thus ($wið$) was originally the unstressed form of (wip), but it has now supplanted the latter entirely. These changes of usage are partly

the result of divergence of meaning between the two members of the pair. Thus (ov) was originally the unstress form of (of), but the two are now felt as independent words, and *ov* has developed a new weak form (əv) or (ə).

Doublets may arise in other ways as well. Thus in E. *no* when uttered in a deferential or conciliatory tone tends to ㄋㄚ, when uttered with decision or dogmatism it remains ㄋㄚ.

46. Sound-changes fall naturally under two main classes, internal and external. *Internal* changes, or sound-changes proper, are due either to the tendencies of the organs of speech themselves, as when (ii) becomes (ai), or to the acoustic qualities of the sounds themselves, as when *f* is substituted for *p* by defective imitation. We have, therefore, the subdivisions *organic* and *acoustic*, the latter often running directly counter to the former. *External* changes are quite independent of the nature of the sounds themselves, and are, as their name indicates, due to external causes, generally, but not always, connected with the expression of ideas. Thus, to take a familiar example, the change of *asparagus* into *sparrow-grass* is due entirely to the attempt to substitute familiar for unfamiliar sound-groups, and a significant for an unmeaning whole. External changes are often quite opposed to organic tendencies, but they are essentially connected with acoustic change, for they always imply a certain similarity in sound between the old and the new form. It is, therefore, possible to include acoustic and external under the common head of inorganic, thus substituting *organic* and *inorganic* for internal and external as the primary divisions.

47. Another important distinction is that of isolative and combinative. *Isolative* changes are those which affect a sound without any reference to its surroundings, while *combinative* changes imply two sounds in juxtaposition, which modify each other in various ways.

48. The consideration of sound-changes naturally includes the negative phenomenon of *loss*. The *addition* of a sound is generally only apparent—due to the practical exigencies of phonetic notation. The change of *at* into *hat*, for instance, is merely a case of shifting of force (25).

49. Organic changes fall further under three main heads: (1) *throat*-changes, especially those which produce the important fundamental distinctions of breath and voice; (2) changes of *form* (stop to open, etc.); (3) changes of *place* (back to front, etc.).

INTERNAL ISOLATIVE.

Breath and Voice.

50. The relations of breath and voice in consonants are mainly determined by their surroundings, as when *t* between vowels becomes *d*, and consequently fall under the head of combinative changes. It is, therefore, difficult to determine whether the tendency of consonants, apart from assimilative influences, is towards voice or breath. The only absolutely unmistakeable cases of isolative change between breath and voice are those which run counter to the principle of assimilation, namely those in which a voiced consonant flanked by vowels becomes voiceless, as has happened in the case of the stops, both in the first and second Germanic consonant-shift (OE *etan* = Lt *edere*, Gm *leiten* = OE *lædan*), and in that of all consonants in many Middle and South German dialects. Change from voice to breath is easier initially and finally, and is very common in the latter case. In German, Dutch, and Russian all final buzzes and stops are unvoiced, although Dutch still voices final *s* in stressless words such as *is* and *was* when a vowel follows. This is evidently a tradition of the more primitive Sanskrit usage, which devocalizes finally only before a pause or a breath consonant. Liquids are rarely unvoiced, as in Welsh initial *ll-* *ɰʌ*, *rh-* *ʊʀ*. The evidence is plainly in favour of the natural isolative tendency being to change voice into breath. If we consider that a voice consonant such as *d* is really (t)+(ə), we see that the change of *d* into *t* is really equivalent to dropping a final obscure vowel. The tendency to unvoicing is shown most strongly in the stops. The explanation is that the stops are voiced with greater difficulty than the open consonants, the voiced breath having to be driven into an air-tight chamber, so that a voiced stop

cannot be held for any length of time. Liquids and nasals are not often unvoiced, because their audibility depends mainly on their sonorous vocality. But even vowels are occasionally unvoiced, especially the consonant-like highs, when final, especially after a breath stop, as in French *vécu* >[ɑ'f:], Russian *ruki* ʋstɑ'ʎf:.

51. The intermediate change of voice into whisper is very common. Even English finds it easier than voice in such words as *raged* ʋfɹɔzɔɹ. In Portuguese final unstressed vowels are often whispered, as in *campo* ɑ'ʎɔ̃h.

52. The converse change of breath to voice always seems to be combinative, though it is sometimes extended by analogy to the initial and final positions, as in Danish *skib* 'ship' (now sɑfɹɔ), due to the analogy of the medial *b* of *skibe*, etc.

Vowels.

53. **Narrow and Wide.** As regards narrow and wide, short and long vowels follow directly opposite tendencies, short vowels being generally widened, long vowels narrowed, whence the pairs *ʎ, ɹ* (ii, i), *ʎ, ɹ* (uu, u) in Gm, Icelandic, etc., as also in (Northern) English, *ɹ* and *ɹ* being apparently the older sounds of the short vowels. The change of a long wide into a narrow is shown in the Dan. *vide* >[wɹ] = MnIcel. >[ɹɔ] from older *vita* >[ɹɔ], >[ɹɔ], and in the history of the E. vowel in *name*. An example of a narrow short vowel is the E.] in *but*.

54. The high, consonant-like vowels *ɹ* and *ɹ* are liable to lose their syllabic value in juxtaposition with other vowels. This means of avoiding hiatus is a regular law of the Romance languages, where such words as *glōria* soon became dissyllabic —*ɔwɹɔɹ*, which was practically equivalent to *glōrja*.

55. **Place.** As regards height, short vowels tend to lowering, as in Italian *neve* [from *nivem*, Dutch *schip* sɑɹf-ɔ 'ship,' long to raising, as in E. *good*, Dutch *goed* ɹɹɔ from older *gōd* ɹɹɔ, E. *stone* from older (stɔɹn).

56. To this latter rule there seem to be no exceptions. There are, on the other hand, some cases of raising of short

vowels, as in the change of *e* and *o* into *i* and *u* resp. in Gothic. Unstressed short vowels are often raised, as in Portuguese, where unstressed *e* and *o* become *ɪ* and *ʊ* resp.; as in *que*, *campo*.

57. The tendency is from back to front. The frequent change of *ɪ* into *f*, as in French *lune*, Dutch *zuur* 'sour,' was no doubt through the *ɪ* of Norse *hus* and the *ɪ* of Swedish *hus*. The equally frequent change of *ɟ* into *ɭ*, as in E. *man*, seems on the other hand to have been first to *ɟ*, and then direct into *ɭ*, which only requires a slight forward shift of the configurative narrowing.

58. But the front *ɭ* occasionally changes into the back *ɟ*, as in E. *fast* from OE *fæst* through (*fææst*), probably in order to avoid confusion with the *e*-sounds.

59. The change from front to mixed is mainly in unstressed vowels, as in the Gm, Dutch, etc. *-e* = *ɪ*, Portuguese *que* *o* *ɪ*.

60. **Rounding.** As regards rounding, back and front vowels follow opposite tendencies, back vowels favouring rounding, front unrounding.

The first stage in the rounding of back vowels is forming them with imperfect mouth-opening, the low-back *ɟ* and *ɟ* being especially liable to this muffling. Indeed, unless pronounced with very open mouth, these sounds are always apt to be mistaken for rounded vowels. But muffled, or even fully front-rounded *ɟ* is still distinct from *ɟ* = *ɟ*. The rounding of *ā* into some variety of open *ō* is very general in the Germanic languages.

61. The unrounding of back round vowels is rare. We see partial unrounding in the short Swedish *u* = *ɟ*, complete in the English *u* in *but* = *ɟ*. In unstressed syllables the change is commoner, as in OE *boga* from older *bogo*. Unrounding of front vowels is shown in the later OE *fēt* for earlier *fæt*, in MnE *sin* from OE *synn* *sfɹ*, and in the South German pronunciation of *ü* and *ö* as *i* and *e*. Partial unrounding in Swed. *y* = *ɟ*, *ɟ*, distinct from French *u* = *f*. Of the rounding of fronts I have no examples to hand.

62. Examples have already been given of under-rounding (61). Of the other kind of abnormal rounding, *nl* over-rounding, examples are afforded by the Swedish and Danish *ɟ*, as in

gå, 'go,' and *þu*, as in *sol* 'sun,' which are special Scandinavian modifications of *ja* (from *ā*) and *ju*.

63. **Diphthonging.** Isolative diphthonging or 'vowel-cleaving' mainly affects long vowels, evidently because of the difficulty of prolonging the same position without change. Cleaving of high vowels, as in the very frequent development of (ai) and (au) out of (ii) and (uu) resp., begins with a slight lowering of the first half of the *i* or *u*, giving *i-r* or *u-r*, as in Southern E. *me*, which is practically almost equivalent to (ij). *iu* and *iu*, however, are more easily cleft by simply increasing the lip-narrowing towards the end of the vowel, so as to form a consonant, as in the Southern E. *who* *uiw*.

64. Mid and low vowels are cleft by a slight raising of the tongue; or, in the case of round vowels, by a progressive narrowing of the lip-opening, which may, of course, be accompanied by a raising of the tongue. Examples are the English [*ɪr*- and *ju*] in *say* and *no*. In the latter the cleaving is effected entirely by the lip-narrowing.

65. All of these are falling diphthongs. Rising clefts are the Italian *ɛi*, *ɔi* from Latin *ē*, *ō* through *ɛi*, *ɔi*, as in *lieve*, *buono* from *levis*, *bonus*. In MnIcel. *ē* is regularly cleft into *œi*, as in *mēr* 'me.'

66. But diphthongs may also arise from lowering the second half of a long vowel. In North Welsh all long high vowels are followed by an obscure voice-glide: *ɪr*, *iu*, *iu*, as in *drws*. Such was probably the beginning of the Old German *uo* from *ō*, as in *muot*.

It will be convenient to discuss all the changes of diphthongs under the present head, although some of them fall under that of combinative and acoustic changes.

67. In diphthongs of the (ij)-type there is a tendency to make the cleaving more distinct to the ear by divergence, the first element being lowered and retracted through [*ɪ*, *ɛ*, *ɔ*, *ɔ*, *ɔ*, etc., or even rounded, as in the Cockney pronunciation of *my* as *ɪɔr*. (uw) is diverged by lowering and unrounding—*ju*, *ju*, *ju*, and then by fronting as in the Cockney *now* *ɪu*. Diphthongs beginning with a front-round vowel are diverged by backing this front vowel, as in the Danish *vie*, now = *ɔi*.

68. While the strest element shows this tendency to diverge, the glide shows the opposite one of approximation, ʃr , for instance, becoming ʃr , ʃe , ʃi , till at last the diphthongic character is almost lost, as in the Cockney $\text{ʃj}+\text{i}\omega=\text{mile}$, almost indistinguishable from *marle*.

69. If the glide-vowel is fully formed, it often acts on the preceding vowel as in mutation (143), drawing it towards itself, so that jr , ʃr become ɹ , ʃr , and ʃr resp., as in OIcel. *ei* from *ai*, *pu* from *au* in *stein*, *guga* (*auga*).

70. 'Smoothing,' or the levelling of the two elements of a diphthong under a monophthong, is the result of absorption, as when *ai* becomes \bar{a} in OE *stān* by lowering of the glide, *ei* becomes \bar{e} , as in the Swed. and Dan. *sten*. This direct absorption is, of course, only possible after considerable convergence of the two elements.

71. Forward smoothing, as in Germanic change of *ei* into \bar{i} in *wīn*, is only the completion of the mutative influences described above.

72. As cleaving is peculiar to long vowels, it follows that when a diphthong is shortened, as when it stands in an unstrest syllable or before two consonants, it tends to smoothing, as in Icel. *eld* from **eild*.

73. Of course, it is possible to make the glide-element of a diphthong so short that the whole combination can be regarded as the equivalent of a short vowel, as in OE *ea*, *eo*.

74. Another result of the strengthening of the glide is that it sometimes develops into a consonant, as in Mod. Greek *αυρός* $\text{ʃ}+\text{ɔʃs}$. This development is the rule in most languages in rising diphthongs, *ia* generally becoming *ja*.

75. Loss. Isolative loss of vowels seems to occur only in unstrest syllables. Even here it is possible that the loss is only apparent, being compensated by lengthening of the preceding sound: we may perhaps assume that Middle E. *nāme* became $\text{ŋ}+\text{f}+$ as the first stage of its present monosyllabic form.

76. The dropping of unstrest vowels is generally preceded by various weakenings, generally in the direction of ɹ . Dropping without previous weakening is, however, common in

spoken Welsh, as in *agorwch* əʃwɪç. But even in Welsh it is the mixed **I** which is oftenest dropt, as in *yfory* ɤʃwɪ.

77. The dropping of unstrest vowels is often dependant on the nature of the resulting consonant-group. Such combinations as *k(a)l*, *t(a)n*, in which the second element is a vowel-like syllabic, are especially liable to contraction, especially when, as in the second instance, the two consonants are formed in the same place. But in Old Icel. we find vowels dropt without any regard to the nature of the resulting consonant-groups, as in *lax* gen. sg. from **laxes* through **lakss*.

78. The contraction of two short vowels into one long, which is a frequent means of avoiding hiatus, as in Sanskrit *atī va* = *atī iva*, implies, of course, only the loss of the independent stress with which the second vowel begins. Where one, or both, of the vowels is long already, the contraction was no doubt at first extra long.

Consonants.

79. **Form.** The opening of stops generally seems to begin between vowels, and is then evidently due, in part at least, to the attempt to assimilate the form of the consonant to that of a vowel. This is confirmed by the fact that it is generally voiced stops that are opened in this way. Thus in Modern Greek *g* has everywhere become *ε*, while *k* continues to be a stop, and so with the other stops, the change having probably begun between vowels, and been then extended to the initial and final occurrences of the voiced stop. In Dutch too *g* has everywhere become *ε* or *ε*, while in German initial *g* retains its stopped quality.

80. But voiceless stops are sometimes weakened into open breaths between vowels, as in the regular change of *c* and *t* into *ch* and *th* in Old Irish, as in *athir*. In Danish unstrest *-et* becomes *-[ʊ]*, as in *huset*. Here the change was probably direct, but in other cases it may be the result of strengthening the breath-glide (140). The frequent change of *kt*, *pt* into *cɔ*, *ɔɔ* seems to be partly due to striving after distinctness, as also that of *tt* into *st*, as in Latin *equester*.

81. The change of a nasal into an open consonant is, of course, through a nasalized open consonant; thus the Welsh mutation of *mam* into *fam* æʃf postulates an intermediate æʃf, which is nothing but an *m* with the lip-passage open.

82. The change of a stop into a side-consonant is not common, but there are examples in Latin, such as *oleo* by the side of *odor*.

83. Side-consonants are capable of a further weakening into open consonants, as in French *fille*, *milieu*, where *œ* has become *o*, Italian *fiamma* from *flamma*.

84. The change of an open consonant into a vowel is, in the case of *j* and *w*, often almost entirely dependant on stress-shifting and synthesis. In OE *snāw*, for instance, it is impossible to tell whether the *w* really means *æ* or is simply equivalent to *ɪ*; most probably the latter, but the distinction is very slight.

85. Some consonants, such as E. and Gm *r*, are pronounced with such a complete absence of buzz and with so open a configurative passage that they may be regarded as glide-vowels rather than consonants.

86. These weakened consonants must be carefully distinguished from syllabic consonants. It is true that the unbuzzed vowellikes lend themselves with especial ease to the syllabic function, and that it is possible that the Sanskrit vocalic *r* in *mrtá* really had something of the E. *r* in it, but there is nothing to prevent it from having been a strong trill—at least at first.

87. If the configurative passage of an open breath consonant is progressively enlarged, the acoustic effect of its position becomes more and more indistinct, till at last we hear nothing but mere breath. In modern Irish the old *th*, 'aspirated' *s*, etc., are weakened in this way to mere *hs*. In Sanskrit final *s* becomes a mere breath, as in *áçvāh*. Even in E. *I think* often sounds like *I hink*.

88. All these changes are weakenings. The converse change from open to stop is frequent. The open voiced consonants between vowels are especially liable to this change. Indeed such a consonant as *ε*, if pronounced with-

out perceptible buzz, as in MnIcel. *saga* sʃ+eʃ, has very much the effect of *æ*. The Old Swedish *sagha* has, accordingly, become sʃ+eʃ in MnSwedish. *o* has been stopped in Greek *zugón*=*wsfeʃ*γ, Latin *jugum*, and in Italian *già* *wɛʃ* from *jam*, all pointing to a preliminary stopping of *o* into *æ*. In Swedish such a word as *jag*, when emphasized, is often uttered with weak stoppage, so as to be intermediate between *oʃ+æ* and *æʃ+æ*. The change of *æ* into *æ* through *æ* is seen in the French *garde* from German *warda*, Welsh *gwlad* *æwʃ*+*w*=OIrish *flaith* (where *f*=older *w*), showing the intermediate stage *æw*. A parallel change of the voiceless *ɔ* is seen in the dialectal Icel. pronunciation of *hvalir* as *ɔʃ*+*wf*. The stopping of *ɔ*, *w* is common to most of the Germanic languages, as in Swedish *ting*, German *ding*=E. *thing*, Swed. *du* *wɪ*+*ɪ*=E. *thou*.

89. We have, lastly, the trilling of open consonants, especially *o* and *e*. The tendency of the dialects of large capitals is in favour of untrilling, as we see by comparing the London with the Edinburgh, the educated North Gm with the provincial and the Dutch *r*. Dutch, on the other hand, not only retains a strong *ws*, but also trills its *g*=*es*, and its *c* in *schip*=*scsf*+*ɔ*. Trilling is no doubt the result of striving after distinctness.

90. *Place. Back to Throat.* We see this change in the Danish *r*=*æ*, which is no doubt a later form of the *es* of the Jutland pronunciation. In Glasgow Scotch *t* in *butter*, etc., is *ɔ*—a *t* with simultaneous glottal stop.

91. *Back to Front.* This change appears to be always combinative.

92. *Front to Back.* Italian *valga* from *valeam* through **ɔ*+*wɔ* and **ɔ*+*wɔ*. So also It. *tengo* from *teneo*.

93. *Forward to Back.* The frequent substitution of *es* for *ws*, as in the Parisian *r*, seems to be mainly imitative. For Russian *l*, see § 104. The change of *s* into *c*, as in the Old Bulgarian *choditŭ*, seems to be the result of inner rounding and subsequent exaggeration of the back element, as in the change of *w* into *gw* (88). In Armenian we find *sw* developing into a back aspirate stop through *c*, as in *khuir* 'sister.' The first stage is shown in the Gm *sch*=*z*). In the South Swedish

pronunciation of *z* in *skjuta*, etc., the inner rounding is very marked, the point of the tongue being lowered, which would soon develop back modification.

94. *Forward to Front.* Spanish *l* from Latin *nn*, as in *año*. So also in some West-Norwegian dialects *ll* and *nn* become *œœ* and *œl*, or approximations to them.

95. *Lip to Lip-teeth.* In the change of *p* into *f*, *w* into *v*, we may always assume an intermediate *ɔ*, *ə*, the latter being the Middle German *w*. This is partly an acoustic change, *ɔ* being more distinct than *ɔ*.

The converse change is shown in the Danish *hav* 'sea' = *ɕʰɔ*.

96. *Forward to Lip (-Teeth).* The frequent change of *ʋ* to *ɔ*, as in a defective pronunciation of *through*, and in Latin *fūmus* = Sanskrit *dhūmās*, seems to be imitative, but may sometimes be through *ʋ*.

97. The converse change is shown in that of final *m* into *n*, as in Spanish *Adán*.

98. There are various changes of the forward consonants among themselves. That of (*z*) into (*r*) is frequent in Latin, as in *Aurora*, and in Germanic, where it was through *ʋ* (145). The converse change is shown in the older Parisian Fr *chaïse* from *chaïre*.

99. Isolative change of *s* into *z* is regular in Gm initial *s* followed by a cons., as in *schwan*, *stein*. In Portuguese *s* final or before a consonant becomes the intermediate *z*, as in *casas* *ɑʃsɐs*.

100. Inversion is generally the result of the influence of *r*, a sound which always tends that way, especially when trilled—as in Swed. *barn* *ɕʰɐr̥n*. The inverteds are strongly represented in Sanskrit under the name of 'cerebrals,' where they are produced by the influence not only of *r* and *ʃ*, but of other sounds, even the vowels *i* and *u*. It is possible that inversion may in some languages be the result of exaggerating the distinction between gum-point, such as E. *t*, and teeth-point cons.

101. A peculiar result of inversion is the change of *l* into the Scandinavian 'thick *l*' (33).

102. As regards rounding, back open consonants tend, like

back vowels, to rounding, as shown in the history of such words as *draw* from OE *dragan*, *sorrow* from *sorg*. E. *r* is rounded in individual pronunciation. The rounding of *s* and *f* has been treated of above (93).

The tendency of back-round cons. to exaggerate the back element has also been illustrated above (93).

103. The loss of back modification is shown in the frequent change of (w) into (v) through ə, as in Gm.

104. The most unstable of the cons., as regards modification without change of place, is *l*, whose position can be combined with that of almost any vowel. In the 'clear' *l* the front of the tongue is somewhat raised in the direction of ω, which gives the French *l*. In the 'dull' English *l* the front of the tongue is hollowed out. The Dutch *l* is decidedly back-modified or 'guttural,' still more so the Portuguese *l* in *alto*, which is quite ω. The clear *l* tends to become ω, the dull to become ə, as in Russian *palka*.

105. **Cleaving.** Consonant-cleaving, as when *ll* becomes *dl*, *nn* becomes *dn*, as in MnIcelandic *falla* >[fɔw], *einn* [ɛɪn], is, like vowel-cleaving, the result of the difficulty of prolonging a consonant unchanged. In the West Norwegian dialects the *dl* in *falla* is articulated so lightly that the combination is really half-way between *ll* and *dl*. Another kind of cleaving is shown in the Welsh *nh* in *nhad* = ɲɛɪw, which must once have been simple ɲɛɪw.

106. Consonant-smoothing is analogous to that of vowels. It is forwards in Danish *binde* [bɪnɐ] through *[bɪnɐ], backwards in German *pfeffer* from **pfeppar*.

107. **Loss.** Consonants are more freely dropped than vowels, as being less sonorous. Thus Germanic initial *j* is dropped everywhere in the Scandinavian languages, as in Icelandic *ár* = *year*. The loss of *k* in Cockney and provincial E. is only apparent, being due simply to a shifting of force (25). The dropping of initial *k* in *know* was preceded by a stage in which it unvoiced the *n*, so that the *k* was only dropped because it had become superfluous for distinctive purposes. Many other consonant-droppings are no doubt due to the same principle of economy of distinction. Final consonants

are very easily dropped, being uttered with less force than initial ones (17). The audibility of final stops depends mainly on the off-glide, and if this is suppressed, they become almost inaudible, and this was probably the beginning of that wholesale dropping of final cons. which we see in French. French keeps final cons. before another word beginning with a vowel (*liaison*), but Old Bulgarian drops all final cons. without exception, nasals alone partially surviving in the nasalization of a preceding vowel, so that every word in the language ends in a vowel. Other languages, such as Greek, allow only certain consonants at the end of a word—mostly vowellikes. Final consonant-groups are often very deficient in sonority, especially stop-groups, such as *kt*, and are consequently lightened by throwing off the last, as in the Cockney pronunciation of *act* as ʔɑː; other groups being lightened in various ways, as in Greek *ánax* for **ánakts*. Even polite E. makes *asked* into (aast).

108. **Addition.** The addition of *d* and *p* in such combinations as *an(d)ra*, *am(p)ta*, as also their dropping, is only apparent. In passing from *n* to *r* it is necessary to shut the nose passage, and open the mouth passage simultaneously, and the slightest delay in doing the latter of course converts part of the *r* into a *d*.

109. The addition of hiatus-filling consonants, as in Dutch *zeeën* = s[ʔə]ʔ, is simply due to a slight exaggeration of the glide between the two vowels. Such insertions as that of *r* in the E. *idear of* are, of course, the result of external analogy. Other means of avoiding hiatus are the glottal stop—[ʔ], and the introduction of a breath-glide, as in the occasional French *fléau* = ʔw[ʔ].

An interesting example of consistent hiatus-filling is afforded by Old Bulgarian. In this language, as already stated, every word ends in a vowel. So, in order to get rid of all hiatus, every initial vowel developes an allied consonant before it, *i*-becoming *ji*-, *ü*- becoming *vü* (from **wü*-), etc.

Quantity.

110. There is a general tendency to shortening in unstressed syllables, *-aan*, *-ann* both becoming *-an*. In stressed syllables there is a tendency to alternate short and long in vowel + cons. Final *-an* is often lengthened to *-ann*, though the short cons. is kept in many languages, and final *-aann* generally becomes *-aan*. Medially *ana* tends to become *aana*, *aanna* also to become *aana*. The frequent change of *anna* into *ana*, as in Gm *gewinnen*, seems to be the result of the qualitative divergence of short and long vowels: when *f*, *f* had been separated into *f*, *f*, the doubling of the (n) in *gewinnen* became superfluous and it was therefore shortened.

111. In the Romance languages stress keeps a final vowel short, as in French *si* *sɪ*, while in the Germanic languages it lengthens.

112. In many languages the high vowels, especially *i* and *u*, tend to shortness, either resisting lengthening influences, as in E. *son*, *written* from OE *sunu*, *writen*, or else being shortened against the analogy of the other vowels, as in Dutch *lieden* ʌfɔɪ, *voeten* >ʌfɔɪ. The extreme closeness of these vowels seems to make their lengthening difficult.

113. Shifting of quantity often accompanies stress shifting in diphthongs, as in Icelandic *kjösa* from **kēosa*.

114. Vowel quantity is often dependant on the influence of the following consonants. Stops, especially voiceless stops, shorten. The shortening influence of *m* in Swedish is very marked. In Welsh *y*, *m*, *l* shorten, often also *n*. *r* lengthens in many languages.

115. Vowellikes and nasals followed by another consonant, especially a voice stop, often lengthen, as in E. *beard*, *wild*, *find*. The lengthening seems to be due to the difficulty of distinguishing the vocality of the vowel from that of the vowellike, (finnd) and (fiind), for instance, having much the same effect on the ear. In some cases the lengthening of the vowel is due to the absorption of a parasite-vowel (159), as in E. (haad) 'hard' from (hard) through (haerd).

116. The distinctions of quantity are utilised differently in

different languages. In many languages, such as Russian, French, and the Romance languages generally, the distinction of long and short vowel is not clearly marked, the quantity, especially of stressed vowels, being generally medial. Other languages, such as E., distinguish accurately three degrees of quantity. Again, in such languages as Sanskrit and Hungarian any vowel in any part of the word, whether stressed or not, may be long or short; but in other languages quantity is partly dependant on stress and position. In Welsh the last syllable but one is stressed and short, so that *ton* and *tôn* both have plural *tonau* ʈʃʈʃɹ. In Swedish such a word as E. *bitter* with a short stressed vowel followed by a short cons. is impossible. In E. such a word as German *mann* ʈʃɹ, with a short final cons. preceded by a short stressed vowel, is equally impossible.

117. The influence of quantity on other changes is very marked, especially as regards vowels. Long vowels tend to narrowness, raising, and cleaving; short vowels to wideness, lowering, and smoothing. It also influences stress, as in Latin (121).

Force.

118. Stress-shifting in diphthongs does not affect those of the (ai)-type, but only when a closer (higher) is followed by an opener (lower) vowel, or a back by a front. Whenever the first element of a falling diphthong by gradual divergence reaches (i) or (u), as when ʋ passes through [ɹ, ʃɹ into ʃɹ, there is a tendency to shift the stress on to the opener and more specifically vocalic second element, a tendency which is no doubt helped by the difficulty of lengthening a high vowel (112) and the ease with which such a vowel passes into a glide and a consonant. The two extremes are therefore the falling (-ai), and the rising (i'a) almost =(ja). Italian *ie*, *uo* were no doubt originally falling diphthongs. (u) is felt as opener than (i), hence (iu) tends to (i'u, ju). In the South Gm dialects *uo* from *ā* through (ɔɔ, oa, ua) still remains a rising diphthong, as also *ie* from *iō*.

119. The general tendency of language is to alternate strong and weak stress syllables as much as possible. Hence the tendency to throw forward the stress of a two-syllable enclitic in some languages, as in Old Icelandic, where *þeir ero* becomes *þeir ro*.

120. Some languages, such as French, have practically no independent stress, intonation taking its place.

121. In some languages, such as Sanskrit, Russian, and English, the place of the stress may be on any syllable in the word. In others it is fixed on some one syllable, as in Welsh, where it is regularly on the last but one, and in Icelandic, where it is on the first. In others, again, its place is partly determined by quantity. Thus, in Latin it must be on the last but one if that syllable is long, on the one before that (third from end) if the last but one is long: *mon'ère*, *regere*.

122. Stress-shifting in different syllables is due partly to such mechanical limitations, partly to external influences, as when a language throws the stress on to the root-syllable. This may often be effected most imperceptibly, by gradually increasing the strength of an originally only half-strong syllable.

123. It must be remembered that originally stress was due to purely external causes. Here we may observe two opposed tendencies: (1) to emphasize the most important element of a word or group, as in 'a piece of 'bread'; (2) to emphasize the element which modifies the original meaning of the word to which it is added, as in 'to give and 'forgive.' The first tendency leads to putting the stress on the root, the second to putting it on inflections, etc.

124. The influence of stress on sound-changes in general is very important. All the weakening processes, shortening, dropping, assimilation, smoothing of diphthongs, etc., begin in unstress syllables. Thus Icel. *skopuþu* from **skapuþu* shows only approximation to the *u* (mutation) in the stress syllable, but complete assimilation in the second, unstress syllable. As the beginning of a syllable generally has the strongest stress, initial and medial consonants often show the opposite tendencies of strengthening and weakening, as in Danish *kage*

αϕ]ε] = OIcel. *kaka*, where the first *k* is strengthened, the second weakened.

125. The shifting of a cons. from the end of one word to the beginning of another, or vice-versa, as in *nickname* from *an ekename*, *adder* from *a nadder*, is really due to shifting of force. So also is the loss or addition of *h*.

Intonation.

126. Intonation was originally an instinctive means of emphasis, an energetic utterance of a vowel being accompanied by a high tone—level or rising, the unemphatic syllables being uttered in a low tone.

127. Hence the intonation in primitive languages—at least in Sanskrit, Greek, and the other Oarian languages—is fixed in each word: it is a *word-intonation*. This fixed intonation still survives in Lithuanian and Swedish. In Swedish, for instance, *þæþ* uttered with a rising tone is the town *Äbo*, but if uttered with a falling tone on the first syllable and an upward leap on the second, it means ‘dweller.’ Even in E. *‘raaðə* and *‘raaðə* have the contrary meanings of ‘a little’ and ‘very much,’ as in answer to the question ‘does it rain?’

128. In the more highly developed living Arian languages, on the other hand, the intonation is not bound to any one syllable of a word, but is used to modify the meaning of the sentence as a whole, a rising tone implying doubt, question, incomplete statement, etc., a falling tone certainty, answer, completion, etc. Even in Sanskrit and Greek the word-tone was no doubt modified by these tendencies, as it certainly is, not only in Swedish but also in Chinese—a language in which word-intonation plays an exceptionally important part.

129. Intonation is not necessarily associated with stress, but there is a strong natural connection between them, and the history of the Arian languages shows clearly that in them high tone was accompanied with strong stress, for the weakening and dropping of vowels in unemphatic syllables which

is carried to such an extent in parent Arian cannot be explained as due to mere lowering of tone.

130. There is, therefore, no such thing as a change of modulative or 'musical' accent into stress-accent: all that has happened—say in Modern Greek—is that the stress has been kept, while the intonation has been set free.

131. The compound tones are often accompanied by double stress on the intoned vowel (*zweigipfliger* accent) which seems to cut it into two. This may be, as suggested by Sievers, a cause of diphthonging.

132. The Danish substitution of the glottal stop for the 'simple' intonation of Swedish, as in $\text{f}[\text{x}] \text{mand}$ = Sw. *mann* $\text{'f}[\text{x}]$, is very remarkable. It is evidently due to an energizing of the intonation. Even in Sw. the simple tone is often energized in such words as *baron*, the vowel being pronounced with a jerk in the middle so that it seems to be divided into two, a falling being at the same time substituted for the rising tone— $\text{b}[\text{a}] \text{w}[\text{a}] \text{r}[\text{o}] \text{n}$. In some Lithuanian dialects (according to Kurschat) the same thing happens, which in Lettish seems to develop into a full glottal stop, as in Danish.

133. The influence of intonation on sound-change is very slight. It seems, however, that in parent Arian *a* with a high tone became *e*, while a low tone changed it to *o*, evidently because *e* has naturally a high, *o* a low pitch.

134. As regards the relation of intonation to quantity and stress, we may say briefly that emphasis, length, strong stress and high pitch are naturally, though not necessarily, associated.

Transposition.

135. Transposition, as in OE *axian* for *ascian*, MnE *bird* = OE *bridd*, is generally a more or less isolated phenomenon, but is sometimes carried out through a whole group of sounds, as when Greek $\text{z} = \text{ws}$ became sw in the Attic dialect.

INTERNAL COMBINATIVE.

136. The influence of one sound on another may be either *forwards*, as when *adta* becomes *adda*, or *backwards*, as when *adta* becomes *atta*. It may be either *partial* (subsimilation), as in the Germanic vowel-mutation (*fuss*, *füsse*), or *complete* (assimilation), as when *adta* becomes *atta*.

Breath and Voice.

137. The change of breath stops into voice between vowels is regular in Danish, where, however, the resulting voice stops have been opened, as in *lade* 'let' [læd], *skibe* [sæb] 'ships.' In Sanskrit final stops are always voiced if the next word begins with a vowel, as in *údēti* 'goes out.' The hisses, such as *s*, are not voiced either in Danish or Sanskrit between vowels.

138. Breath and voice assimilation between two consonants is almost universal in language, such combinations as English *bb* in *backboard* being exceptional reactions due to striving after distinctness. In Dutch *bakboord* is pronounced [bæb] and when a Dutchman speaks English, he is apt to make *Dutch Jews* into *Dudge Jews*. Sanskrit follows the same laws, even *s* being voiced before voiced cons. and vowels, although in the extant language the resulting *z* has been changed to *r*, or dropped, as in *ācāvō dramati*, where *-ō* stands for **-oz*. Even E. has (kæts) against (dogz).

139. It will be seen that the stops are the most sensitive to breath and voice assimilation, while the vowellikes *r* and *l* and the nasals are generally quite independent of them. In Icelandic, however, *lt*, etc., as in *bilt*, becomes [wɪl].

140. The slight escape of breath which follows breath-stops in such languages as E. is easily developed into an aspirate-glide, as in Danish *kan* [kæn], Sanskrit *kh*, by a slight stress on it, which at the same time relieves the pressure involved in forming an unaspirated *q*. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that an aspirate requires greater effort than an

ordinary stop: there is simply a shifting of effort from the stop itself to the glide. If an aspirate-glide is held unchanged, it becomes a definite, open consonant corresponding to the preceding stop, giving the combinations known as 'affricates' or 'stop-opens': αc , $\alpha \eta$, $\alpha \upsilon$ ($\alpha \gg$). t developes in this way either into $\alpha \upsilon$ or αs , according as it is a pure point or a blade-modified stop. The glide in the Danish α in *tale* sounds between s and β . When the glide has thus obtained an independent existence as an open consonant, the stop itself is often dropped as superfluous, as in the German *pfeffer* from $\alpha \tau \beta \eta \omega$ through $\alpha \eta \tau \beta \eta \omega$, $\alpha \alpha \tau (\alpha) \beta \eta \omega$. The front stop α is peculiarly liable to these developments, its off-glide being very liable to develop into full α because of the difficulty of removing the broad ridge of the tongue quickly enough from the palate. Indeed even α' always suggests $t\eta$ to an unaccustomed ear, the glide being so distinct. In Sanskrit the aspirate of c α , which is written ch , must have been really the stop-open $\alpha \alpha$, for it makes a preceding vowel 'long by position.'

The influence of s in aspirating an adjoining breath-stop is seen in Sanskrit *sthitás*, *gácchati* $\alpha \eta \alpha \alpha \alpha \eta \alpha$ and Greek *skhízō*. In Danish it has the opposite effect: *cp til* $\alpha \eta \omega$ with *stille* $\alpha \eta \omega$. Here the initial s seems to take away the stress from the following cons.

141. The two chief kinds of influence of vowel on vowel are *vowel-harmony* and *mutation* (umlaut). Mutation, however, is backward and indirect, implying modification of the intervening consonant, while in vowel-harmony the influence is generally forwards, and the one vowel acts on the other directly without any necessary modification of the intervening consonants, and therefore extends more easily through an indefinite number of syllables. It appears to be partly acoustic. The best example of it is in Finnish. In Finnish the vowels are:

- (1) hard : a, o, u .
- (2) soft : \ddot{a}, \ddot{o}, y .
- (3) neutral : e, i .

In Finnish the root-syllable always comes first and has the

chief stress. If the root-syllable has a hard vowel, all the following must have a hard or (more rarely) a neutral vowel; if it has a soft vowel, all the other vowels of the word must be soft or neutral: *muuttumattomuudestansa, tyytymättömyydestänsä*. For traces of this in the Arian languages see § 159.

Front-Modification.

142. The influence of *i* and the other front vowels and of *j* on a preceding back cons., especially the stops *k* and *g*, may be seen in any language. Even in E. the *k* in *keen* is a little more forward than in *corn*. In Russian the front vowels *і, ѣ* (*і*), and the now silent *ѣ* (= *і*?), communicate their own front articulation to most preceding consonants, but in various degrees according to the nature of the consonant. *ω* *r*, *s* *s*, *ɔ* *f*, *ɛ* *m*, *o* *p* simply arch the tongue into the *ɪ*-position (= *ω*), or, in other words, anticipate an *ɪ*, but without otherwise modifying their original articulations. In such a group as *іѣі* (*imi*) the *i*-position is maintained unchanged from beginning to end. In such a word as *mirŭ* *ɪ* *ɪ* *ω* *ɪ* a Russian brings the tongue into the *ɪ*-position simultaneously with the closure of the lips which forms the *ɪ*. *ɑ* *k* becomes *ɑ* *ɪ*, as in the old-fashioned E. *kyard* = *ɑ* *ɪ* with simultaneous *ɑ* *ɪ*. *c* (*x*) becomes *ɔ* (*ç*). The fronting is carried out most fully with the point nasals and stops *ɲ* *n*, *ɔ* *l*, *ω* *d*, whose place of stoppage is shifted back to the outer front position, both cons. and vowel in *ɪ* *ɪ*, *ɑ* *ɪ* being apparently formed in the same place, the point of the tongue not being employed at all. The fronted *ω* *l* was probably once *ω* *ɪ*, but it has now become almost the ordinary point consonant, probably because its wide divergence from the back *ɛ* in *palka* made further differentiation superfluous. *z* *j* and *ɛ* *ʒ* have also lost their original front modification, at least in the Moscow pronunciation. The loss of original fronting has been very extensive in Servian and the other South Slavonic languages.

ω (*j*) has exactly the same influence, being itself dropt, as in *dijá* *ɪ* *ɔ*.

143. These fronted consonants again in their turn influence

a preceding sound. Thus the α in *vesti* $z[s\alpha]$ fronts the preceding s , and this $s\lambda$ again narrows the preceding vowel (which would otherwise be the wide ϵ) into $[\epsilon]$. $\mathfrak{J}(o)$ and $\mathfrak{J}(a)$ followed by a fronted cons. are advanced towards the mixed positions— \mathfrak{J}^+ , \mathfrak{J}^+ . The second element of the diphthongs *ei* and *ai* has the same effect— $[\epsilon]$, $\mathfrak{J}^+\epsilon$.

144. It is certain that these vowel-changes are due entirely to the direct influence of the immediately following cons., for if that cons. is not fronted by a following cons., as sometimes happens, the vowel remains unmodified, as in *krěpki* $\alpha\omega[s\beta\alpha\lambda]$.

145. In these Russian changes we have the key to the Germanic vowel-mutation or 'umlaut.' In most cases the fronting of the cons. which caused the mutation has been afterwards given up, as in E. *end*, which must once have been $\mathfrak{J}\alpha\omega\epsilon\mathfrak{J}$. But it still survives in such words as E. *bridge*, OE *brycg*, from $\beta\omega\mathfrak{J}\epsilon\omega\mathfrak{J}^+$. That the Germanic mutation may be due entirely to cons. influence is shown by the regular Icel. mutation caused by the fronted r which arose from z , as in *eyra* from $*auz\tilde{o}$ through $\mathfrak{J}\alpha\omega\mathfrak{J}$.

146. It need hardly be said that all vowel-mutation takes place very gradually: that between the f of *brycg* and original \mathfrak{f} there must have been \mathfrak{h} , \mathfrak{f} , \mathfrak{f} .

147. But a front or front-modified cons. may influence a preceding vowel in a different way, nl by exaggerating its on-glide into a diphthongic vowel. Such a group as $\mathfrak{J}\epsilon\lambda$, indeed, always suggests *aimi* to an unaccustomed ear, being really equivalent to $\mathfrak{J}(\epsilon+\epsilon)\lambda$. We see the results of this diphthongic mutation in such forms as Greek *kleínō* from $*ktenj\tilde{o}$, French *gloire* from *glōria* through $*gl\tilde{o}rja$.

148. Forward front influence of vowel on cons. is shown in Gm. *ich* $\lambda\alpha$ contrasting with *ach* $\mathfrak{J}\epsilon$. This is the opposite of Russian, where *ich* retains the c of *ach*.

149. But in Russian a fronted cons. draws forward a following vowel, so that *sjō* is $s\lambda\mathfrak{J}$, sometimes almost $s\lambda\mathfrak{f}$. Such a word as French *Sue* is in Russian written *sjū* = $s\lambda\mathfrak{h}$. Unstressed *ja* in Russian is often weakened into $\epsilon\mathfrak{J}$ (through $*\epsilon\mathfrak{J}^+$), as in *jadro* $\epsilon\mathfrak{J}\omega\mathfrak{J}$.

Back-Influence.

150. Back-influence is shown in the Russian development of ω into s before back-vowels, as in *palka* $p[ɤ]s[ɔ]$.

Rounding.

Rounding influence is parallel to front influence, though less extensive and important.

151. In Russian rounded vowels (all of which are back) communicate their back-round quality to preceding consonants. This is most marked with c , which becomes $ɕ$ before the two round vowels: $cɪ$, $cɤ$. In $ɕɪɪ$ the u -quality is also distinctly heard in the body of the cons. In $cɔɤ$, $ɕɔɤ$ of course only the off-glide is heard, which sounds like a half-suppressed $ɔ$, so that an unaccustomed ear is apt to hear $cɔɤ$ alternately as *ko* and *kwo*. Only back and lip cons. are rounded in this way. In Old Icelandic we have an u - and w -mutation, as in *mǫnnum* $ɕɪɪɪɕ$ from **mannum*, *göra* $ɕɔɤ$ from **garwjan* through **gerwa* $ɕɔɤ(ɔ)$. Diphthongic u -mutation is seen in Greek *paúros* from **parwos*.

152. Forward rounding by a vowel is seen in German *auch* $ɔɕ$; by a consonant in OE *wudu* from *widu* through *wiodu*.

Nasalizing.

153. Nothing is more common than the nasalizing influence of a nasal on a preceding vowel. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any language is entirely free from this influence. It is common in E., and is often strongly developed in German. There are various degrees of nasality; thus French is stronger than Portuguese nasality, the uvula being lowered more. When the nasality of a vowel is clearly developed, there is a tendency to drop the following nasal consonant as superfluous, whenever this can be done without causing a hiatus, that is, when the nasal cons. is final, or stands before another cons. This was carried out with perfect regularity

in Old Bulgarian, as also in French and Portuguese. One result of this is that in all of these languages ɹ is wanting: Port. *longo* = $\omega\text{ɹ}\text{e}\text{h}$.

154. In Portuguese such forms as *boa* $\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$ from *bona* through $\text{*}\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$ are probably due to the analogy of the masc. *bom* $\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$: nasals between vowels do not seem to be dropped. On the contrary, whenever a nasal is retained, the tendency is to give up any distinct nasalizing of the preceding vowel. This is the case in French, not only within words, as in *femme* $\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$, but also when two words are run together as in *son enfant* $\text{s}\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$ compared with *son père* $\text{s}\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$.

Vowels tend, of course, to lose their nasality even when not followed by a nasal, especially when unstressed. The Old Bulg. nasality has been lost in all the living Slavonic languages except Polish.

155. The following are, therefore, the natural stages of nasality:

(1)	ɹ	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$
(2)	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$
(3)	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$
(4)	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$
(5)	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$	$\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$

156. But before nasality is dropt, it often considerably modifies the quality of the vowel. In the high ɪ and ɪ the nasality is not very distinct, and there is a tendency to make it more audible by enlarging the oral passage. Hence while *in*, *im* is still ɪ in Portuguese *sim*, it has become ɪ in French *vin*. Again, ɪ etc. have a deeper pitch than the corresponding un-nasal vowels, and hence there is a tendency to exaggerate the effect by rounding; and when the nasality has been removed, the resulting ɪ may follow the rising tendencies of high vowels, and finally become ɪ . Thus Germanic *gansi was borrowed by Old Bulgarian in the form of *gasi* $\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$, which in Russian has become *gusi* $\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$, just as *gansi has passed into (*guws*) in MnE through $\text{*}\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$ and OE *gōs*.

157. Forward nasalization appears occasionally in Portuguese, as in *māe* $\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɪ}\text{ɪ}$ from *māter*, an example which also shows that diphthongs may nasalize both their elements, as

is always the case in Portuguese. In Russian all (back-) round vowels are nasalized by a preceding nasal, as in *mužŋ* *fuŋs*.

158. Nasalizing of a preceding cons. is seen in the Swedish *hamn* from *havn*, *lugn* *olufs*.

Parasiting.

159. Very important is the development of parasite-vowels before and after certain consonants, especially the vowel-like *r* and *l*. It appears, however, to be partly due to acoustic tendencies. The first stage in parasiting (svarabhakti) is seen in such words as E. *lower*, German *bauer* from older *būr*, in which the glide to the *o* has been exaggerated into an independent *ɨ* or *ɪ*. In the affected pronunciation both of London and of Berlin this mixed vowel is often developed into a full (a). This is no doubt the way in which in French the Low German *knīf* became *canif*. The quality of the parasite is often determined by that of the nearest accented vowel, as in Welsh *aml* *ɨfɔw*, *ochr* *ɨcɨw*, OE *bur(u)g*, *byr(i)g*. Cp § 141.

160. Parasiting implies, of course, a certain difficulty or delay in passing from one cons. to another. Hence it rarely occurs between two cons. formed in the same place, as between *l* or *n* and *t*; here, on the contrary, the tendency is towards absorption of any intervening obscure vowel (77).

161. E. *fear* > *fɨ(ɔ)* from OE *fēr* shows how parasite-diphthongs begin. Their further development is partly the result of divergence, by which *iə*, *eə* become *ia*, *ea*, partly of the further influence of the vowel-like that caused the parasiting. Of these influences rounding is the most marked. In OE *e* before *r* + cons. regularly becomes *eo*, as in *eorpe*, no doubt through **eorpe*. The same influence of *l* is shown in the Tudor E. pronunciation of *salt*, etc., as (sault). In Dutch *zout* 'salt' the *l* has rounded not only the glide but also the *a*, and has then been itself absorbed, as in E. *walk* from Tudor (waulk), etc. We see the same rounding influence of *l* in the E. pronunciation of *children* as (tʃuldrən). This influence of *r* and *l* seems to be acoustic rather than organic—due to imita-

tion of the deep pitch of these consonants when formed with hollowing of the blade of the tongue (104).

162. The influence of *r* is, however, generally more in the direction of backing and lowering than of rounding, as in E. *star* from Middle E. *sterre*.

Other Influences.

163. There are, besides, a variety of less important influences of consonants. Indeed almost every cons. modifies the preceding vowel more or less. Thus in E. the *i* in *fish* has not quite the same sound as in *hiss*.

164. The most important, perhaps, of these minor influences is point modification, by which an ω -position is anticipated in the preceding vowel. The effect is most marked if the ω is inverted. When a vowel has once been modified in this way, the ω itself is often dropt. Thus in the Kentish dialect *sparrow* has become $\text{spj}^{\omega}\text{c}$ through $^*\text{spj}^{\omega}(\text{c})\omega\text{c}$. In Swedish *r* followed by point cons. and *s* draws them back to the rim of the palatal arch (half-inverted), the *r* being itself dropt, surviving only as a slight modification of the preceding vowel: *barn* $\text{pj}^{\omega}\text{c}$, *kors* $\text{c}^{\omega}\text{sc}$.

165. The general influence of cons. on height and narrowness is obscure. In Germanic, nasals raise *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* as in OE *singan*, *sungen*, while in Danish they widen a preceding *i* as in *finde* >[fɪ]. In Danish back cons. have the same effect, while in early MnE they narrow a preceding *i* (786).

The development of *i* or *e* before initial *s* + cons., as in Spanish *escuela*, Welsh *ysgol* 'school' is no doubt phonetic, *s* and *e* being acoustically allied, because of the highness of their pitch; *s* is indeed acoustically the *i* among cons. (15).

There still remain some special influences of cons. on cons.

166. The opening influence of *s* on a following *k* is seen in the Dutch *schip* $\text{scif}^{\omega}\text{p}$ from *skip*, and is parallel to the aspirating effect of *s* (140). The later Germanic change of *cs* into *as*, as in German *sechs*, is exactly contrary, being probably

(tʃ) and (ts), lastly, may drop the first element, giving ʃ—as in the present French and Portuguese pronunciation of *ch*—and *s*, as in the Old Bulgarian *sŭlo*=Latin *centum*, where Lithuanian has ʃ—*szimtas*.

171. The development of the voiced *ɹ* is parallel, except that dropping of the first element is much commoner, even in languages which retain the stop of *ɹ*. Thus in Swedish and English *kind* *ɹ*ɹɹɹ and *göra* *ɹ*ɹɹ, *chin* and *yell* (OE *gellan*) are not parallel, although in Dalecarlian Sw. initial 'soft' *g* becomes *dz*, parallel to *ts* from soft *k*. In Italian, too, soft *g* is *ʒ*, parallel to *c*=*ʒ*. So also the later developments (tʃ) and (dʒ) are often unparallel, as in Old Bulgarian, where *člověkŭ*, *bogŭ* have vocatives *člověče* *ɹ*ɹɹɹɹɹɹɹ, *bože* *ɹ*ɹɹɹɹ.

172. In most languages there is a tendency to make *ʒ*, *ʒ* into *z*, as in E. *nation* from ME *nāsiūn*.

ACOUSTIC CHANGES.

173. Acoustic changes may be isolative or combinative. Such isolative changes as *ʌ* to *>* and *ɔ* to *ɛ*, which are probably, in part at least, imitative, have been noticed already (96, 93). The most unmistakeable instances of imitative influence are afforded by certain changes between narrow and wide vowels.

174. If we start from a high-wide vowel, such as *i*, we shall find that the nearest vowel in sound is not *ɪ*, but the narrow-mid *ɛ*, while the nearest in sound to *ɛ* is another narrow vowel, the low *ɐ*. This agrees with the pitches of these vowels (8), for while *ɛ* is a whole tone lower than *i*, there is a descent of only a semitone from *i* to *ɛ*; in fact, the series *i* *ɛ* *ɐ* *ɐ* forms a descending chromatic scale. It also agrees with the height of the tongue, for the flattening of the tongue in *i* widens the passage more than with *ɛ* but not so much as with *ɐ*, where the whole body of the tongue is lowered. The same relations exist not only between the front-round, but also between the back-round vowels. The unrounded back vowels may be disregarded here. The

following pairs of wide and narrow vowels are, therefore, very similar in sound:—

$f i$ and $[e$; $[e$ and $[\text{æ}$

$f y$ and $f \text{ə}$; $f \text{ə}$ and $[\text{œ}$

$f u$ and $f o$; $f o$ and $f \text{ə}$

Some phoneticians, such as Jessen, have even gone so far as to maintain that f and $[$ are one identical sound, which may be called indifferently 'open i ' or 'close e .' Cp Cooper's vowel-pairs (777). There can be no doubt that the vowels in these pairs interchange in language, and that the change cannot be explained organically, and is, therefore, imitative. The short e in *men* is $[$ in Southern, but $[\text{}$ in Northern English. Open short i in Danish is f , but the parallel f has been supplanted by $f \text{ə}$, as in *bundet* contrasting with *binde*, which has f . The lengthened f of OScand. *vita*, which is still $f \text{ə}$ in Icelandic has become $[f$ in Swedish *veta*, Danish having $f \text{ə}$ in *vide*.

175. Again, we can lower the pitch of f either by rounding or retraction, and in the resulting f and I these modifications balance one another exactly, so that the two vowels have the same pitch, and are very similar in sound. This gives us the following pairs of acoustically similar unrounded mixed and front-round vowels of the same height:—

$I i$ and $f y$; $I i$ and $f y$

$[\text{ë}$ and $f \text{ə}$; $[\text{ë}$ and $f \text{ə}$

$I \text{ä}$ and $[\text{œ}$; $I \text{ä}$ and $[\text{œ}$

The present pronunciation of French *le* with some variety of f or f is probably an example of these changes. A still clearer one is the change of Arian u into Old Bulgarian y , as in *synŭ*, pronounced $sI\gamma$ in Russian. As Old Bulg. expresses Greek $u=f$ by v , not by y , in such words as *mvro*=Greek *múron*, it is tolerably certain that y had the same sound in Old Bulg. as in Russian. But it seems certain that y was once a round vowel in Russian, for it rounds a preceding cons. just like u (151), as in *my* $f \text{ə} I \text{ə}$. Hence we may assume that original f became f , as in French, and that this f became I by imitation.

176. Many changes can be accounted for by the striving

after greater audibility. Such are the trilling of *r*, the change of the lip *ɔ* to the lip-teeth *ɔ̣*, the exaggeration of the almost inaudible breath nasals into *nh*, etc., in Welsh (105). Others, are, partly at least, the result of exaggerating distinctive features, as when (low) back vowels are rounded, so as to lower their pitch still more.

Of combinative changes, many appear to be partly organic, partly acoustic, such as vowel-harmony (141) and parasiting (159). All cases of divergence, whether in diphthongs (67) or in consonant groups (105) are mainly acoustic, being the result of striving after distinctness.

EXTERNAL CHANGES.

177. External changes seem generally to fall under the head of analogy, or levelling of distinctions.

178. *Formal* analogy is seen in the frequent cases in which an originally independent or shifting stress becomes fixed on one syllable, as when the shifting accent in Greek *póda*, *podós* becomes fixed in *poiména*, *poiménos*, or when the free Russian stress becomes fixed on the last syllable but one in Polish. In the Scandinavian languages *f* between vowels is voiced, while *s* retains its breath sound everywhere; but in E. *s* follows the analogy of the other hisses, and becomes (z) between vowels. So also initial *s* follows the analogy of *v*, and becomes *z* in Dutch. It is, however, often difficult to tell whether such changes are not, partly at least, organic.

179. *Logical* analogy, on the other hand, is entirely independent of organic considerations, often indeed of acoustic resemblance as well, being due to similarity of meaning. Thus, in MnE the pret. *bare* has become *bore*, and in Gm the pret. **schneit* has become *schnitt* because of the analogous meaning of the pret. participles *borne*, *geschnitten*. This analogy is extremely frequent in inflectional and derivative elements, as when the OE plur. *steorran* has become *stars* in MnE by the analogy of the numerous OE plurals in *-as*.

180. Another form of logical analogy is the familiarization

of foreign words (*volksetymologie*), as when *asparagus* becomes *sparrow-grass*, *carbunculus* becomes *karfunkel* in German. But such changes are partly—especially in their beginning—formal, being due to the attempt to substitute familiar for unfamiliar syllables, for it is not only strange sounds that make a difficulty, but also strange combinations, whether in sound-groups such as initial German *ts-*, or in syllables.

181. External influences may be complete, as in *stars*, or partial, as in *bore*, which is still distinguished from *borne* by the *n* of the latter. They may also be one-sided or mutual, the result of a compromise between two forms being called a 'blending.'

182. That conscious modification of one of a pair of homonyms by which such differentiations (*scheideformen*) as MnE (*waind*) verb, and (*wind*) subst. are supposed to be obtained, cannot be maintained as anything but a merely apparent cause of change. All organic changes are carried out without any regard to the logical consequences, as we see in such a sound-group as E. (*bear*), which stands for four distinct words, the infin. and archaic pret. of a verb, the name of an animal, and the adjective. Of course, if two words which would otherwise become identical diverge under special influences, the chances of their preservation are increased, as when *bear* and *bare* were differentiated as *bear* and *bore*. If, on the other hand, real obscurity results from two words actually running together, one of them is simply discarded for a distinctive one, as when *plough* supplanted the verb *ear*. This is also an example of how a language made up of various dialects—as all languages are which are spoken over an originally diversified linguistic area—can choose the most distinctive forms from these different dialects, for *plough* is a Midland and Northern, not a Southern word. Most differentiations can be explained in this way. Thus *hale* is the Northern, *whole* the Southern descendant of OE *hāl*.

183. But although logical considerations cannot alter the direction of change, they have a great power of retarding it. Every language at any given period is the result of an incessant struggle between the organic tendency to change, and

the logical effort to get rid of the resulting ambiguities and complexities. If we consider that the consonant-mutations of Celtic, the sandhi of Sanskrit, the assimilations of Russian, the Germanic umlaut, the Old Bulgarian dropping of final consonants, so far from being mere vagaries of Celtic, Sanskrit, Russian, Germanic, and Old Bulgarian respectively, are tendencies common to *all* speech, we cannot help seeing that the unrestrained working of these tendencies through a few centuries would make any language utterly unfit for the communication of ideas. There are three main results of phonetic change against which logic specially revolts: (1) obscuration of the identity of a word, as when 'head' in Welsh is expressed by pŵ , pŵ , pŵ or rŵ , according to the ending of the preceding word, and when Sanskrit *tam* tā = Greek *tón* appears also in the form of tā , tā , tā , tā , tā , tā , tā , according to the beginning of the next word; (2) divergence of formations from the same root, especially inflections, as when in Old Irish we find *toibnim* 'I drive,' *dosennat* 'they drive,' *tafnetar* 'they drove,' *toffund* 'to drive,' all formed in accordance with strict phonetic laws from *do* + *svand*, these manifold divergencies being mainly due to shifting of stress; (3) levelling of distinctions, mainly through dropping of sounds, of which E. supplies many instances, such as the various meanings of (bear), the loss of adjective inflection, etc. Logic is not only hostile to the confusions that result from sound-change, but also to sound-change itself. If language were wholly rational, if every idea were represented by one unambiguous word, every syllable, every sound of which had a definite logical function, the intellectual would have so complete a control of the mechanical tendencies of language that sound-change would cease altogether. But as language is only partially rational, these two tendencies co-exist, the logical element, however, predominating, at least in real living, spoken languages—not, however, in artificial literary ones. In practice, irregularities such as the OIrish *toibnim*, etc., are allowed to accumulate till they become a strain on the memory, and then the whole system is reformed by selecting certain typical forms under which all divergencies are levelled, as if Irish were to con-

jugate *toibnim*, **toibnat*, **toibnetar*, **toibnund*. A striking instance of such a reaction in favour of grammatical symmetry is afforded by the Germanic vowel-gradation (ablaut) in *sing sang sung, drink drank drunk*, etc. But as internal vowel-change obscures the identity of a word, these forms came afterwards to be regarded as 'irregular,' and have accordingly been greatly curtailed in favour of the 'regular' conjugation *loved*, etc., which is generally unaccompanied with internal change. It will be observed that grammatical regularity is often directly opposed to phonetic regularity: *toibnim*, *dasennat*, etc., are phonetically regular, while the levelling Germanic ablaut is phonetically irregular—to a great extent at least. Hence the symmetry and simplicity of the Sanskrit and Gothic vowel-system, with its three short vowels *a, i, u*, is no proof of primitiveness, but rather of the contrary. The arresting of ambiguity-causing changes is determined by similar practical considerations. In polysyllabic languages, such as Greek and Old Bulgarian, final consonants could be dropped freely without making the context unintelligible, but in English any loss of final consonants, or, indeed, even so slight a change as that of *d* into *t*, etc., would make the language unintelligible. The tendency to drop final consonants is as strong in E. as ever it was in prehistoric Greek, as anyone may convince himself by listening to the listless, slovenly speech of every-day life. Every time we ask our interlocutors to repeat what they are saying, we are really making a logical revolt against final consonant-weakening or some other organic change. The first Greek, on the other hand, who said *gála* instead of *gálak(t)* was not interrupted with a 'what?,' simply because the word was still perfectly intelligible. The extraordinary freedom from assimilative influences (sandhi, etc.) which we observe in the E. consonant-system is also a result of logical necessities. This clearness of our consonant-system enables us, on the other hand, to weaken our unstressed vowels with impunity, while in French the conditions are exactly reversed. We see then that every language is forced to resist *some* phonetic tendencies, while resigning itself more or less completely to

others. Hence the necessity of comparing different languages in ascertaining the general laws of sound-change.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

184. We have now surveyed the whole field of sound-change. We have seen that the organic and acoustic laws of change are continually crossed by logical tendencies, as when, for the sake of distinctness, the elements of a diphthong are diverged, instead of following the organic tendency to convergence.

185. The explanation of the logical and acoustic changes is self-evident; not so that of the purely organic. If we survey these as a whole, we perceive two principles of economy:—

(a) dropping of superfluous sounds, as when (ŋg) becomes (ŋ);

(b) ease of transition from one sound to another, which leads to convergence and assimilation, as when (dn) becomes (nn).

186. It is evident that these principles do not help us to determine the relative ease of articulation of individual sounds, for (ŋ) in (ŋg) is not dropped or modified from the desire of easing a difficult articulation, but simply because it is superfluous. There seems, indeed, reason to doubt whether the inherent ease of an articulation has much to do even with isolative change. As a general rule, all familiar sounds seem easy, all foreign ones difficult and harsh. There can, however, be little doubt that some articulations, such as the trilled point *r*, do offer some difficulty even to a vernacular tongue, and that the back *ɛ*, which in almost every language is substituted for it by individuals, is essentially easier, the uvula being simply lifted up by the back of the tongue so that it vibrates passively. It is also clear that direct isolative changes are from back to front, and from front to forward, and scarcely ever the reverse way. This seems to be the result of the superior lightness and flexibility of the forward articulations as compared with those of the heavier

root of the tongue. But there are also considerations of distinctness. In the first place, the foreward articulations are more visible, and therefore more easily learnt by direct inspection; and secondly, a far greater variety of sounds can be produced in the fore part of the mouth: if we were to make *s*, *z*, *ʋ* into back sounds, they would all be merged in the one sound *c*. This last consideration is so decisive that we are compelled to admit that however probable an organic tendency from back to foreward may be, there is no absolute proof of it.

187. In many cases we can see nothing but a continual fluctuation between two closely allied sounds: we find (ð) becoming (d) in one language, (d) becoming (ð) in another; in Danish (ð) became (d), and now this (d) has returned to nearly its original sound! So the question is, to some extent, one of stability and instability. As regards place, we may say that the front consonants are the most unstable, because they can be shifted either backwards or forwards, and we find, as a matter of fact, that the most unstable consonants are the front stops, *q* and *g*. *q* is saved from place-shifting by its vowel-like character. The vowel *j* is very unstable, because it can be modified in the direction either of (o) or of (e). Long vowels are more unstable than short, because the longer the sound, the more temptation there is to modify it. The most stable vowels ought therefore to be the short fronts. We find accordingly that original Ar. short *i* and *e* have been preserved up to the present day in such words as *wit* and *seven*. Compound sounds, such as the rounded vowels, are of course unstable, as shown in the development of short *u* into Swedish *ʌ*, E. *j*, and in French *f* from Lat. *ū*.

ORIGIN OF SPEECH-SOUNDS.

188. It used to be generally assumed that primitive speech had a very limited range of sounds; but a little consideration will show that the opposite must have been the case. Lan-

guage proper, which implies sound-groups (words) symbolizing ideas, and capable of being combined into sentences as freely as ideas are combined into thoughts, was preceded by a period of mixed gesture and imitation. Every object and phenomenon associated in nature with an imitable sound would naturally be named by an imitation of that sound: *cuckoo*—or some such sound-group—meant ‘cuckoo’ from the beginning. The power of imitation was enormously developed through its use by hunters in decoying wild animals, where, of course, the best imitation would secure the best results. But gesture also helped to develop the power of forming sounds, while at the same time helping to lay the foundation of language proper. When men first expressed the idea of ‘teeth,’ ‘eat,’ or ‘bite,’ it was by pointing to their teeth. If the interlocutor’s back was turned, a cry for attention was necessary, which would naturally assume the form of the openest and clearest vowel (a). Sympathetic lingual gesture would then accompany the hand-gesture, which latter would then be dropped as superfluous, so that (ada) or, more emphatically, (ata) would mean ‘teeth’ or ‘tooth’ and ‘bite’ or ‘eat,’ these different meanings being only gradually differentiated. We see that the primitive uninflected words or ‘roots’ of language were probably dissyllabic. So also the ideas of ‘wind’ and ‘breath’ were expressed by *ɔ* + vowels, which is both an imitation of the sound of the wind and is at the same time one of the results of the action of breathing itself, ‘blowing’ being also expressed by *ɔ*. Now neither *ɔ* nor *o* form part of the original Arian sound-system, as known to us by historical evidence. Not only isolated sounds like *ɔ* were eliminated, but also whole classes of sounds. Primitive man must have expressed ‘drinking’ by an inbreathed *c*, and probably he expressed sensual enjoyment generally, as some of us still do, by an inbreathed voiceless *l*—*ɔ*. These inconvenient inbreathers seem to have been eliminated everywhere in language, but the nearly-related suction-stops or ‘clicks’ still survive in many primitive languages, as in the South African Bushman and Hottentot, and in some Californian languages. These clicks were no doubt originally (as pointed

out to me by Mr. J. Marshall, junr.) food-cries. Another class of sounds which have been eliminated in most languages is that of the throat-consonants or 'true gutturals,' which still survive in Arabic, and also seem to have existed in parent Arian—at any rate, in Sanskrit. But the Sanskrit 'sonant *h*' may be a new formation, like the glottal stop in Danish. Clicks still survive as interjections in English.

ORIGIN OF DIALECTS.

189. Language originates spontaneously in the individual, for the imitative and symbolic instinct is inherent in all intelligent beings, whether men or animals; but, like that of poetry and the arts, its development is social. Where there is free and uniform intercourse between all the members of a community the language will be uniform—that is, uniform in the sense of not splitting into dialects. Of course, every family, and every individual, will have their own peculiarities of speech, but there will be no local concentration of these peculiarities. When the community is too large to permit of uniform communication throughout it, dialects begin. If we suppose a large plain covered with villages of equal size and independence at equal distances, each village communicating directly only with its immediate neighbours, there will in a few generations be a distinctly different dialect in each village, and in course of time the dialects of the most northern, southern, eastern and western villages will become mutually unintelligible to one another and to that of the central village. But there will be no lines of division: the dialects will shade insensibly into one another; the dialect of a village halfway between the most northern and the central village will partake so equally of the characteristics of the northern and central dialects that it will be impossible to assign it to either.

190. This overlapping of dialects—which always happens when there is no definite barrier—is due also to the fact that

the separate changes which constitute difference of dialect or language do not follow the same boundary-lines, but cross one another to any extent. Thus in OFrench the distinction between the 'Central French' or Parisian and the Norman dialect is generally fairly definite, but we find South Norman agreeing with its neighbour Parisian in changing Lat. *c* into *ch* (tʃ) before *a*, as in *chier*=Lat. *cārum* against the North Norman *kier*. This particular sound-change has, then, chosen an area of its own, regardless of the areas of the other changes which separate South as well as North Norman from Parisian.

191. But if such a territory is intersected by a range of mountains, a broad river, or any other obstacle to communication, running, say, east and west, then there will be a corresponding line of linguistic division: all the dialects north of the barrier will form a group with features in common distinct from those which unite the southern group of dialects; if the barrier is strong enough, the two nearest villages north and south of it will in time come to speak mutually unintelligible languages. Even the most trifling barrier—a narrow brook or strip of sandy heath—will be enough to mark off two groups of dialects.

192. Complete territorial separation through emigration is a self-evident cause of dialectal divergence; but in such cases there is always the possibility of the divergence having begun before the complete separation.

193. There are other factors which disturb the ideally uniform development of dialects. In real life, certain villages would be sure to gain some kind of ascendancy over those nearest it, and thus one or more centres of dialectal influence would be established; till at last, if centralisation were strong enough, one dialect would be used as a means of expression all over the territory, as is now the case in England. If communication and education were made perfect, the standard dialect would entirely supplant the other dialects, and absolute uniformity of language would prevail.

194. In this way political development also tends to cause definite lines of division, for each linguistic centre swallows

up the dialects nearest to it, till it comes in conflict with another centre, the line of division generally, though not necessarily, coinciding with some natural boundary. Hence, if we compare two standard languages of the same family, such as Dutch and German, we are struck by their fundamental difference, and have no hesitation in calling one Low, the other High German. But if we compare the dialects of the two languages, we shall find them shading off into one another by insensible degrees, there being many 'Middle German' dialects which carry out the change of *t* into *ts*, as in *zeit*, but leave initial *p* in its unaltered, Low German stage, as in *pund*, the present standard German being itself a dialect intermediate between High and Low.

195. It need hardly be said that the standard and the local dialects influence one another strongly. Standard E., which is mainly East Midland, has taken words and forms from almost every other dialect; *vat*, for instance, is Southern, *hale* (= *whole*) Northern.

196. Not only dialects influence one another, but also languages, even if they belong to totally distinct families. Thus Finnish is full of archaic Germanic and Lithuanian words, Persian is mixed with Arabic, and so on. Even sounds are borrowed. Thus the southern Bantu languages in Africa have borrowed the clicks from the Hottentots: Zulu has them, but they are wanting even in Bechuana. So also the peculiar 'choke-stops' of Armenian (ժ, etc.) have been borrowed from the non-Arian languages of the Caucasus. Sanskrit, again, got its inverteds from the Dravidian languages of the South of India. English and Welsh too, with their (p) and (ʃ) and their (w), have much in common. There is no limit to the mixture of languages in sounds, inflections, and syntax as well as in vocabulary. But the influence is never equal on both sides. Finnish has borrowed largely from Germanic, but there are very few common Germanic words of Finnish origin. So also the proportion of English words in spoken Welsh is about the same as that of French words in Chaucerian English, but there are very few Welsh words in English. In fact a very intimate mixture of two

languages is always a prelude to the complete extinction of the weaker one, and this is why few, if any, of these thoroughly mixed languages become permanently fixed.

197. Dialects are not only local, but social, as in the distinction of polite and vulgar speech, vulgar speech being generally ahead in its development, as in the Cockney and dialectal dropping of (h) in E. There is also the important distinction of the literary and colloquial dialect, the former being mainly a written dialect, consisting of a mixture of living colloquialisms with the colloquialisms of earlier stages of the language, as when in poetry we use the fossilized colloquialism *thou hast* side by side with the living colloquialism *you have*. Of course, when the divergence amounts to unintelligibility, as when an Italian writes Latin, we have two distinct languages, a dead and a living, the latter being still liable to be influenced by the former, these influences spreading even to the vulgar dialect. Such languages as Latin and Sanskrit, when written and spoken by modern scholars and pundits, are commonly stigmatised as 'artificial'; but the artificiality is not in the languages themselves, but in the means by which they are preserved—in the case of Latin by written symbols, in that of Sanskrit by an uninterrupted oral tradition. This preservation of a dead language is, however, never perfect. In the first place, the process of fixing is always at first tentative and inconsistent—even Sanskrit embodying colloquial Prakrit forms—and secondly, it is impossible to fix the pronunciation, as is again clearly shown in the present pronunciation of Sanskrit, in which some of the sounds, such as *śh* and *ç*, are confounded, and others much modified, partly by the influence of the living Gaurian languages, but apparently also by natural development of Sanskrit itself after it had ceased to be a colloquial language.

198. External circumstances not only have an influence on the development of dialects, but they also directly modify the sounds of a language. Climate has some, though a very slight influence. In cold countries there is less disposition to open the mouth widely. Hence that tendency to make *ā* into

ō which is almost universal in the modern Germanic languages, but is quite absent from the Romance languages. The disposition of the speakers may also influence their pronunciation. The habit of speaking with a constant smile or grin unrounds the vowels, as in the Cockney (*nau*) = *no*. The refinement and effeminacy of large cities untrills the *r*. Even the caprices of fashion may have their effect, as is shown in the lisping pronunciation of those savages who knock out their front teeth.

199. Not only every language and dialect, but every period of a language has its own laws of change, and its own sound-system, which includes only a few of the possible sounds and their combinations. There is nothing to prevent two closely allied languages or two periods of the same language from following opposite tendencies. A group of languages like the Romance may agree in a dislike to harsh consonant-groups, but this does not prevent Portuguese from consistently dropping its weak *e* in such a word as *vistes* 'ye saw,' which is now colloquially *ʒɛstɛs*. A language may unround all its (y)'s, etc., into (i)'s in one generation, while its (u) is moving in the direction of (y), so that the front-round vowels again come to form part of its vowel-system.

200. This last case also exemplifies the perpetual loss and re-development of a sound. As a general rule, it is the most distinctive sounds which are most quickly restored. There may be periods in any language in which such vowels as *ā*, *ī* or *ū* are eliminated by various changes. Thus in Early Mod. E. there was a period when the *ī* of OE *wīn* had become (ei), while the nearest approach to (ii) was the [ɪ = OE *wēn*, but (ii) was soon restored by further raising of this *ē*.

201. Languages which are very rich in sounds, such as Sanskrit and Russian, generally owe it to assimilative influence. The difference between a poor and a rich sound-system is merely that the former utters the elements of such a group as ɾɔɳ successively, while the latter utters the first two simultaneously—ɾɔɳ or ɽɔɳ, the former class of languages being generally more harmonious than the latter, which often have something 'sloppy' about them. We find, accordingly,

that many of the Sanskrit sounds, such as *ṣ* and *ṣ*, occur only in special sandhi-combinations. After what has been said about the richness of primitive sound-systems (188), it need hardly be repeated that extreme simplicity is no proof of the primitiveness of a sound-system, being, as often as not, the result of levelling, as in Gothic, where *e* and *o* were levelled under *i* and *u* respectively, or being only apparent—the result of a defective alphabet, as in the Old Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions. Languages spoken over a diversified linguistic area tend to simplify their sound-systems, as may be seen by comparing German and Italian with any of their dialects, most of which show complex sound-systems.

202. No language has an absolutely symmetrical sound-system, because every sound-system is the result partly of organic, partly of logical influences. The organic tendency is towards analogy and symmetry. Such organic changes as the unrounding of front vowels are generally carried out consistently: if we hear a German say (*giitə*) instead of *güte*, we expect him to say (*jeen*) instead of *schön*. There is also an organic tendency to carry out a uniform basis of articulation. Thus the English tendency is to flatten and broaden the tongue, which makes the vowels wide, and to hollow the fore part of it in forming such cons. as *l* and *t*, which tends to draw away the tongue from the teeth. If this tendency is exaggerated, it results in a general back-modification, which would end in making our concave *l* into a Russian *ɣ*. In E. there is also a tendency to keep the mouth half shut, which is partly due to the climate (198), and is the first step in the direction of rounding. A Frenchman, on the contrary, articulates with a convex tongue, either against the teeth, or as near them as possible, and opens his mouth widely. But the carrying out of a uniform basis of articulation would often lead to the loss of distinctive sounds. Thus the dentality of E. *ɸ* is quite inconsistent with the general character of its sound-system, but the conversion of *ɸ* into *s* or inner *t* has up to the present been successfully resisted by the logical principle of distinctness. But even without logical influences we find violations of the basis of

articulation. Thus in Portuguese *t* and *d* are interdental, but *n* is the E. *ŋ*, and *l* is *œ*, a sound which would seem to be totally opposed to Romance tendencies.

203. Sound-systems are further characterised by their relation to the three main modifying factors: assimilation, position, and stress. We must distinguish accordingly:

(a) *assimilation-influence*. Does the language allow sounds in succession to modify one another, as in Russian, or leave them unmodified, as in E.?

(b) *position-influence*. Are the sounds of the language liable to change in certain positions? Has the language 'end-laws'? Does it, for instance, throw off all final cons., or allow only certain cons. to come at the end of a word?

(c) *stress-influence*. Does the language modify its sounds (especially its vowels) when unstressed, as in E., or has stress little or no influence on sound-change, as in French?

204. The question now arises, How far can we predict the direction of change in a given language? This will depend on the nature of the sound, and how far it has advanced in a certain direction of change. In the case of such a vowel as *j*, all we can say is that *if* it changes, it will be either in the direction of *j* or of *ɿ*. But if it has already become *j*, we may predict with some confidence that it will become *ɿ*. So also of *œ* we may predict not only that it is very likely to change, but that it is almost certain to develop into *œ*. But of the less advanced *œ* it would be impossible to predict whether it will advance to *œ* or return to *œ*. It would, of course, be impossible to predict such a phenomenon as the Germanic vowel-mutation in a language where the vowels had not begun to influence the preceding cons.

205. Hence, when we see such a phenomenon as vowel-mutation developing in all the Germanic languages after their separation, we are bound to assume that the change was initiated before their separation—that in parent Germanic the front vowels had begun to modify preceding cons. So also when we find Arian *k* developing into two sounds independently in Sanskrit and Slavonic without any assimilative cause in either language, we are forced to assume that in

parent Arian *k* had already separated into two such sounds as *œ* and *œʎ*. Of course, such a change as that of *k* into (*tf*) before an *i* in two separate languages proves nothing, for this is the only direction of change possible. It is in practice often difficult to decide what weight to give to parallelism of change, for languages in a similar stage of development often show very striking coincidences which can be proved to be quite independent developments, as we see in comparing the Romance with the Gaurian languages.

206. When we find a high-vowel such as (*ii*) diphthonged into (*ai*), we naturally expect to find a parallel change of the other high vowels—we expect to find (*uu*) becoming (*au*). In such a case as this we are not likely to be mistaken. But it must be remembered that two such vowels as (*ii*) and (*uu*) have nothing whatever in common except their height, and that the natural tendency to diphthonging may in the case of (*uu*) be counteracted in some unforeseen way by its rounding or back position, so that its diphthonging may either lag behind that of (*ii*), or never take place at all. We have a clear instance of this want of symmetry in the MnE levelling of *ee* and *ea* under (*ii*) in *see*, *sea*, while the earlier distinction between *oo* and (*o*)*a* in *moon*, *moan* is still kept up.

SOUND REPRESENTATION.

ORIGIN OF WRITING.

207. Wherever we can trace the history of sound-writing, or writing proper—the art of representing speech-sounds by graphic symbols—we shall find that it was never the result of immediate invention, but was evolved by slow degrees from the more primitive art of picture-writing with hieroglyphs, whose form more or less directly suggests the idea to be expressed, without reference to its sound, as when the sun is represented by a circle. The first step towards sound-writing would be—supposing the language to be written were English—to use the circle as the symbol not only of (*san*)=

'sol' but also of (san)='filius,' and then of the syllable (san) or (sa), until finally it came to denote the single sound (s), or (s) followed by any vowel.

208. Such is the origin of the Latin alphabet. It was originally an adaptation of one of the Greek alphabets, which in their turn were an adaptation of the Phenician alphabet. The Phenician alphabet itself was a selection from the numerous symbols of the Hieratic writing of the Egyptians, which was a compromise between sound-writing and picture-writing, evolved by the exigencies of practical life out of the older purely hieroglyphic system.

LAWS OF FORM-CHANGE

209. The laws of form-change in writing—whether hieroglyphic or phonetic—bear a striking analogy to those of sound-change: change is always going on, it is gradual, and it follows definite laws.

210. Form-change is always going on, because it is impossible for the human hand to repeat indefinitely the same movement without altering its direction and length. Hand-writing varies not only from generation to generation, and between individuals of the same generation, but also in the individual himself, according to speed and care of writing, etc.

211. Form-changes are partly determined by the nature of the material written on and the instrument written with. Thus letters cut on stone or wood will be angular and detached, while writing with a pen will tend to roundness and joining—in short to cursiveness,—writing with a style on wax tablets will have a different character from writing with a nibbed pen on vellum or paper, and so on.

212. The most elementary change is one which we make unconsciously whenever we write; a variation in the relative lengths either of the strokes of which a letter is composed, or of the letters themselves. We see the former change in the development of h out of H, the latter in that of j out of I, and both together in l out of L.

213. In all cursive writing there is a tendency to round off

angles, in order to avoid the sudden check and consequent waste of force and time caused by an angle, as we see in comparing E with e. In a stronger form this tendency leads to slurring or degradation, which is generally accompanied with shortening, as in the second element of r compared with R. The tendency of degradation is, of course, to reduce originally distinct letters to one form, as we see in the confusion of þ and y in *y^e*, etc. Of course, if any element of a letter is superfluous for purposes of distinction, there is a tendency to drop it altogether, as in b from B, where the upper loop of the latter has been discarded. The opposite phenomenon of exaggeration of an originally subordinate element of a letter, which is at the same time lengthened, is seen in the development of the side-stroke of G and Q into the lower circle of g and the upright stem of q respectively, and very strikingly in the development of the Black Letter or Gothic alphabet, in which originally merely accidental and ornamental tags have been exaggerated so as to obscure the original elements of the letters. These changes are, of course, due partly to the organic tendency to variation, but also to the striving after distinctness. While there is a general tendency to round off angles, as in C from <, there is a tendency not only to keep acute angles, as in our w compared with u, but also to turn sharp curves into angles, as in the development of f out of s.

214. In writing with a nibbed pen the down strokes are thick, the upstrokes are thin—a peculiarity which still attests the origin of our printing letters from quill- or reed-written ones. Hence the tendency to employ the thicker and distincter down-strokes as much as possible. It is easiest to thicken a down-stroke when it is more or less perpendicular, and as variations of slope are inconvenient in many other ways, all but perpendicular down-strokes are eliminated as much as possible, or oblique strokes are made upright, as in q from q. Oblique strokes are often got rid of even at the cost of an angle or break, as in d from d. In y, x, and some others, the slopes were kept for the sake of symmetry of form, and distinctiveness.

215. The above are isolative changes. But there are also combinative ones. In writing, the instinct which rebels against angles tends also to eliminate breaks as much as possible: in all swift and easy writing the letters of a word are not only formed individually without breaks, but the whole word is written, as far as possible, without lifting up the pen. It may happen, as in the case of our script *x*, that a letter may have a break in it, and yet be joined without a break to the preceding and following letter. This peculiarity was strongly developed in the Old Roman cursive hands, as is seen in the Ravenna papyri, the result being that the shapes of individual letters varied according to their position and combinations. We see the results of this system in the Arabic alphabet, where many letters have three different forms—initial, medial, and final. Even in the modern Latin alphabet we have—or had, till lately—the distinction of initial and final *s* and medial *f*.

216. The final result of unchecked organic changes would be to make writing unintelligible. This actually happened in the case of the Arabic script. The difficulty was met by the adoption of diacritics: the letters which had run together were differentiated by the addition of dots, as many as three being sometimes placed on one letter. So also in the Middle-Age Latin alphabet *ni* had become confused with *m* and so on, so that the *i* had to be marked with a diacritic—a clumsy device which we are still forced to keep up.

217. But the logical reaction generally begins long before cursive writing has reached the Arabic stage. The first step is to detach the letters, selecting from the various cursive forms those which are the simplest and most compact—involving fewest breaks—and the most distinctive. A good specimen of such a detached cursive is afforded by the imperial Chancery hand of the Romans. The reaction against slurring leads to detaching the strokes even of separate letters. Thus we find the top stroke of *z* from *g*, which was originally an exaggerated flattening of the top curve, completely detached in the oldest Roman cursive writing, and so with many other letters. One of the most effective means of securing

simplicity and distinctiveness, is by utilizing projection above and below the line, which developed itself spontaneously in the Roman capital writing, and after much fluctuation settled down into the usage of our present minuscule or lower-case alphabet, in which, for instance, *i j l* represent distinctions what were once almost entirely dependant on projection.

ALPHABETS.

218. The angular and detached letters of the Roman lapidary alphabet were, however, modified differently for different purposes. The old alphabet was used for writing books long after a fully developed cursive had come into use for the ordinary purposes of life, this cursive itself being nothing but a degradation of the book alphabet. In the 'uncial' alphabet *A, D, E, M* are rounded off in the direction of *a, ð, e, m*, and certain letters project above and below the line. The cursive writing itself split up into a variety of forms, as in the alphabet of the wax tablets, the Ravenna papyri, and the detached 'half-cursive' Chancery hand. About the fourth century all these alphabets existed side by side—as they still do in such forms as *A a a*—and modified each other in various ways. A special development of a very old Roman cursive—or rather of a degraded capital writing—artificially modified and systematised, was the Roman shorthand—the 'Tironian Notes.' The chief influence of the Tironian notes was on the Middle-Age system of contractions, which, again, has in some cases permanently influenced the alphabets of modern Europe, the Spanish tilde in *año*, for instance, being nothing but the old *m*-contraction (*~*), itself probably a degraded *M* written over the line. But the history of the later alphabets is, in the main, one of an incessant action and reaction of the detached and formal book hands and the cursives on one another, which latter were only exceptionally employed in writing books.

219. When the Roman empire broke up, separate national handwritings sprang up in the different provinces in the same way as Latin split up into separate languages. A very marked variety of minuscule was developed among the

christianized Celts of Britain, being mainly a compromise between uncial and cursive. This alphabet, which is still preserved almost unchanged in Ireland, was adopted by the Anglo-Saxons, who afterwards adopted þ and ƿ (w) from their own Runic alphabet—at first in their original angular forms—instead of *th* and *u(u)*. They also modified ð into ȝ to express the sound w, which was probably suggested by the use of crossed *d* (as of other crossed letters) in contractions.

220. By the time of Alfred the English hand had developed a character of its own, the uncial writing having been abandoned in favour of the minuscule, from which—at least in its book form—many of the older cursive elements were eliminated.

221. The chief subsequent changes were in the tags with which the strokes were generally finished off in British writing. After about 950 there is a general tendency to curve inwards the lower ends of upright strokes in such letters as *i*, *n*, *m*, *h*. About 1050 the ends of low stems are curved outwards in such letters as *p*, *r*, *þ*, while *p* retained its older straight stem. Sometimes these low stems were finished off with a cross-stroke or 'serif,' as in our printing letters. Earlier in the century they began to wave and lengthen the top tags of *i*, *n*, *h*, etc. *y* occurs dotted in the very oldest writings, but the dot was afterwards generally dropped, and not restored till about 1000. This, and other changes, were partly due to the influence of the French hand, which towards 1000 began to be generally used in writing Latin. In the earlier charters the Latin and English portions are all in the British hand, but after 1000 the Latin is in the French, the English portions (boundaries, etc.) in the national hand.

222. This French hand—the 'Caroline minuscule'—was developed in France at the beginning of the ninth century by a reform of the earlier Merovingian cursive. It is practically almost identical with our present Roman lower-case printing letters, which were modelled on it. It dots the *y*, leaving the *i* undotted, and prefers *f* to *s*. The stems of the letters are only slightly tagged. Its characteristic letters, as compared with the English hand, are *r*, *f*, *g*. The upright *d* and the high *f*

occur in the older English writing, but in Alfred's time they had been generally supplanted by *ð* and *ȝ*, so that their re-appearance in Latin writings of this period must be ascribed to French influence.

223. In the first hand of the Peterborough Chronicle, which ends at 1124, *s* and *d* still retain their English forms, though the French *d* is occasionally used. The high *f* appears beside *ȝ* not only in this Chronicle, but also in other E. mss even of the first half of the 11th century. After 1124, the Peterborough Chronicle is written in a variety of hands down to 1154, and in this portion the French forms of *f*, *g* etc appear for the first time in English words, side by side with the British forms. Here also occurs the French *w*, formed by interlacing two *v*'s, but only in French names.

224. Henceforth writing in England follows the general European development. Exaggeration of the tags and stem-bending increase, and in the course of the 14th century the letters become more and more angular, resulting in the crabbed and interlaced forms of the Gothic or Black Letter and German alphabets. Then the Humanists restored the minuscule of the 12th century. Both types of writing—the Latin and Gothic—were finally fixed by the invention of printing. The influence of the Middle-Age cursives is shown in our Italic alphabet. We still keep the old Roman capitals unchanged, but only for special purposes of ornament and distinction.

NEW LETTERS.

225. Every alphabet is liable to the demand for new symbols either through sound-change in the language which is written in it, or through its application to some other language. If the change of any sound is carried out regularly in a language, the symbol is generally kept also, however much the sound may have altered, as we see in French *u=f*, Italian *g* before *e*=*we* etc. If, however, a sound splits up into two different ones with a corresponding difference of meaning, as in German *gute*, *güte*=older *guoto*, *guotī*, the want of a new

symbol makes itself felt. Again, in adapting such an alphabet as the Roman to a new language, the letters will be assigned to their nearest equivalents, minute differences being disregarded, as when Latin *f* was used to denote ϕ in Old Irish. Often, however, new distinctions have to be made, as between *l* and ω in Welsh, or totally new sounds have to be symbolized. This is effected in various ways :

(a) By assigning new values to superfluous letters, as when the Greeks made the Phenician ϕ into a vowel-symbol, there being no Greek sound answering to the throat-consonant ϕ it stood for in Phenician. In this case the change of value, though considerable, is by no means arbitrary. Even the change by which ϵ , originally the aspirate *he*, was made into a front vowel, and the later one by which η , originally the throat *h'eth* η s, came to represent first \bar{h} and then \bar{e} , can be explained by the names of these letters, both of which begin with e modified by a mere breath-glide, or what would easily be weakened into it. No doubt there may be cases of arbitrary assignments of values, but they are certainly rare.

(b) By utilizing originally unmeaning variations. Thus, up to the 16th century *v* was simply another way of writing *u*, and *j* of *i*: in the 15th century *v* and *j* were ornamental varieties which were especially used at the beginning of words, and so naturally came to be regarded as consonant symbols. So also the French ζ is only a variety of a descending *z*. In Icelandic consonant capitals were utilized as double letters, as in *maNa* = *manna*.

(c) By digraphs, such as the *th*, *ps* with which the Romans transcribed the Greek θ , ψ . Both of these, however, were compound sounds ϕ , ψ , so the digraphs are really expansions of contractions. But when the Romans expressed Greek initial *r* by *rh* in *rhetor* etc, they were using two letters to express one simple sound, the \bar{h} being here a breath-modifier, as if we were to express ϕ by ω : in Visible Speech. Of course, when *th* and *ph* in Latin became simple υ and ϕ , \bar{h} came to be regarded as an open-modifier. \bar{h} afterwards came to be a general, almost arbitrary, modifier, to show not only opening and unvoicing, but also fronting, as in Provençal and Portuguese *lh*

= ω , vowel-length, as in German *ohne* and E. *ah*—a usage which was already developed in Umbrian and Oscan—while in Italian *gh* it was added to show that *g* kept its original back articulation. Doublings are a special form of digraphs. In vowels it is a common method of indicating length, as also with cons. Some languages which have no double cons. use cons.-doubling as a 'strengtheners' or arbitrary modifier. Thus in Spanish *ll*= ω , in Welsh= ω , where also *dd*= ψ , *ff*= ϕ , *f* keeping its old British value of ϕ . Greek *gg*= $\alpha\epsilon$ is an example of what may be called a compound doubling. Trigraphs also occur, as in Gm *sch*, Swedish *skj*=E. *sh*.

(d) By ligatures, such as *æ* and *æ*=*ae*, *oe*, which in Latin were originally diphthongs [æ] , [œ] , but were afterwards simplified to [æ] and [œ] resp. Our *w* is a consonant-ligature, which preserves an extinct form of the vowel *u*.

(e) By diacritics. One way in which diacritics may be developed is by writing one letter above another, which was a natural device to save space, especially at the end of a line, and would easily be utilized phonetically, as in the German *ü*, originally *û*, where the *e* is a front-modifier. So also in Swedish *å*= $\text{[j]}\text{[a]}$ the *o* is a rounder. As we see, such an over-written letter soon gets degraded into mere dots or strokes. Special contraction-marks were also utilized as diacritics, as we see in the Spanish *ñ* and OE *ð*. Another way in which diacritics develop is by degradation of a ligature-letter, as in *ſ* from *æ*, where the tail is a degraded *æ*.

CORRESPONDENCE OF SOUND AND SYMBOL.

226. All writing which has once emerged from the hieroglyphic stage is at first purely phonetic, as far as its defective means will allow. But as the association between sound and symbol is almost entirely arbitrary, there is always a tendency for the symbol to lag behind the changes of the sound. ✓

227. One result of this is the retention of superfluous symbols, as when we write *q* instead of *c* or *k* in the combination *qu*, this *q* having originally represented the Semitic inner *q*.

The worst form of superfluity is writing 'silent' letters, as in the E. *know*.

228. The opposite of superfluity is **ambiguity**, by which one symbol has to represent more than one sound. To some extent, this defect is inherent in all sound-notation: even in Visible Speech we often omit the minuter glide-symbols etc, and in speaking of a practical alphabet we should hardly characterize it as unphonetic because it neglected—as most of them do—to mark even such necessary elements as vowel-quantity and stress. If an orthography makes a consistently phonetic use of the materials it has: if it restricts every individual symbol to one distinctive sound (which may include slight varieties, such as *f*, *f*- in E. *pity*), and does not continue to write silent letters, we call it 'phonetic.' If, for instance, in E. the vowels in *it*, *see*, *set*, *say*, were invariably expressed by *i*, *ii*, *e*, *ee* we should say that E. spelling was, so far, phonetic, even if we admitted that the long vowels were really diphthongs. If we found these vowels written respectively *i*, *ee*, *e*, *ai* as invariably as on the other system, we should say that English was 'half-phonetic,' or phonetic on an unphonetic basis, for it is evidently unphonetic and irrational to make *ee* the long of *i*. But when we find such a vowel as that in *see* expressed also by *e*, *ea*, *i*, we must call English spelling simply unphonetic. It would be a rhetorical exaggeration to call it wholly unphonetic as long as such a symbol as *ee*, together with many of the consonants, retains its present uniform value.

229. We see, then, that unphoneticness is mainly the result of the retention of originally phonetic spellings after they have become unphonetic through sound-change. It is, therefore, the result of tradition. Where there is no traditional spelling handed down, as when such a language as Old English was first written in Latin letters, spelling can hardly help being phonetic; where, on the other hand, there is a large literature, and, perhaps, a class of professional scribes, the influence of the traditional orthography become stronger and stronger, till, at last, the invention of printing and the growth of the newspaper press make changes of spelling as incon-

venient as they were formerly easy. The ideal of a printer's orthography is one which is absolutely uniform over the whole territory of the language, and absolutely unchangeable. Such an orthography as that of the present English is, consequently, one in which there is no longer any living correspondence between sound and symbol—it is, in intention at least, wholly unphonetic: it is preserved by graphic, not phonetic, tradition.

230. But unphoneticness has its practical limits. A purely hieroglyphic writing, though cumbrous, would not overtax the average intelligence, but an absolutely unphonetic degradation of an originally phonetic system—one in which the separate letters had become phonetically unmeaning—could not be mastered even by the most retentive memory. Hence a phonetic reaction becomes inevitable sooner or later. In the early Middle Ages, when the multiplicity of dialects and the fewness of books made a uniform and fixed orthography impossible, the spelling was periodically readjusted in accordance with the changes of pronunciation. Thus, when in German *hūs* had developed into the fully diphthongic (*haus*) they wrote it *haus*. This was easy enough as long as the phonetic tradition of the values of the Roman letters was kept up, and as long as the alphabet itself was preserved in its integrity; but when such a ligature as *æ* had been degraded into *g*, and then by the carelessness and haste of scribes had been levelled under *e* together with *œ*, and Latin *c* and *g* had come to represent two different sounds each—all this happening in Old French orthography—the phonetic tradition was broken, and spelling could only be half phonetic.

231. The influence of Latin spelling in the Romance languages—due, of course, to the continuity of the languages themselves—is shown not only in the retention of 'soft' *c* and *g*, but also in the later French 'etymological' spellings by which *dette* was made into *debt* with a 'silent' *b*, after Latin *debitum*. It is, however, doubtful whether this was done with any etymological intention—at least at first. Scribes who were continually copying texts written in an endless mixture of dialects would naturally seek refuge in the comparative

uniformity of the Latin spelling they were taught to reverence, and so would half unconsciously modify their unsettled French in the direction of the fixed Latin spelling. No doubt the pedants of the Renaissance did attempt to 'reform' spelling on etymological grounds, and occasionally with success, but nearly all the modifications of spelling that have been made in Europe since the introduction of printing have been phonetic, such as the dropping of silent *e*, the distinction between *oa* and *oo* in E. The reason why comparatively so few of the ceaseless attempts at similar reforms have succeeded, is that the early spelling reformers had not enough scientific knowledge and experience to grapple with the great changes in pronunciation and the corruption of the Roman alphabet.

NORMALIZING.

232. When we contrast the regularity of modern spelling with the irregularity of that of the Middle Ages, in which the same word may be spelt in half-a-dozen different ways on the same page, we are apt to assume that the older usage reflects the freedom of nature, the modern regularity being purely artificial. But we soon find that such varieties as ME *cume*, *kume*, *come* all mean exactly the same thing, and that where there are real underlying distinctions of sound, they are due to mixture of dialect—a mixture which, however, is often only apparent: the result of a scribe copying a ms written in another dialect which he only partially transliterates into his own. Another source of confusion is copying an older ms in an archaic spelling, which spelling, as a general rule, is neither retained nor discarded consistently, the result being more or less of an anachronism.

233. The remedy for this confusion is *normalizing*, which takes one definite dialect, and selects one definite spelling for each sound, the result being a more or less absolutely uniform orthography, of which the ME Ormulum is one remarkable example, classical Sanskrit another. Normalizing has nothing to do with fixity of orthography. As we see, Sanskrit orthography was stereotyped together with the language itself,

while Orm's spellings perished with their author. The present E. spelling, again, though fixed, is not perfectly normalized. Thus we denote the (ou) from OE *ā* by *o + e* in *stone*, but by *oa* in *moan*, although these two words have always had the same vowel from the beginning, and so on.

SYNTHESIS.

234. A normalized spelling on a rigorously phonetic basis will, of course, ignore such non-phonetic considerations as word-division, and will reproduce all the modifications which words undergo in different surroundings, as in the Sanskrit sandhi. It ought also to preserve the distinction between such doublets as (ðæt) and (ðet). But in practice this is seldom done, it being found more convenient to write the emphatic form everywhere. The scribe, too, in writing has to pronounce each word to himself detached, and therefore in its emphatic form and free from such influences as sandhi and consonant-mutation. Of course, where variations in the form of a word are associated with marked divergencies of meaning, as in the Celtic mutations and such pairs as E. *one*, *a(n)*, *off*, *of*, they are recognized in writing.

235. This leads also to a general disregard of synthesis. Sanskrit denotes vowel-quantity everywhere, Greek only in some of the vowels which have distinct signs for the longs. In Latin the quantity is marked only by a diacritic which is generally omitted. Intonation is marked in Vedic Sanskrit and in some of the pre-classical Brahmanas. It was not marked in Greek till the Alexandrian philologists devised a scheme of accentuation for the benefit of foreigners. In modern languages quantity is often marked by doubling, as in Dutch, and less regularly in German and E., and stress by an acute accent, as in Spanish; this acute being primarily a mark of high or rising intonation, which was however—in Greek at least—combined with stress. Our punctuation-marks seem to have been originally modulative, and a comma is still more or less equivalent to ('), though punctuation is now mainly logical.

236. Word-division is disregarded in Sanskrit, though not in most Eastern languages. It was generally disregarded in Greek and Latin, the division between words being marked—whenever it was marked—not by spaces, but by a point. In the early Middle Ages subordinate words—especially prepositions—were generally run on to the following noun etc to which they belonged. The grouping of subordinate words round their centre was carried to a great extent in Old Irish, where, for instance, *inlfhirsín* was written for *ind fhir sin* ‘of-the man this,’ ‘of this man.’

INTERPRETATION OF SYMBOLS.

237. The one essential difference between the phonetic study of living and of dead languages, is that the former are accessible to direct observation. But it is easy to exaggerate the importance of this difference. Even in studying living languages we are forced to rely mainly on the observations of others, for no one can master more than a limited number of languages, and it is only the observations of a native that can be perfectly relied on, so that the statement of an old Sanskrit phonetician that, for instance, his *w* was formed by the lips and teeth is really worth more than an unphonetic German’s analysis of E. *w* into *u + v*, or an Englishman’s statement that South German *w* is between *w* and *v*.

238. The first means of determining the sounds of dead languages is, therefore, the direct statements of phoneticians, grammarians and others about them, whether in the form of simple description or of correction of assumed errors or vulgarisms. The results thus obtained may be supplemented by comparison with the sounds of other languages, and by phonetic transcriptions.

239. Then we have the indirect evidence of the spelling, which is often as reliable as—if not more so than—the former. Such forms as *ú, &* are, indeed, self-interpreting, and many others, such as *th, nj*, though ambiguous in themselves, are often interpreted with certainty when taken in connection with other evidence, and with the history of the language and

the general laws of sound-change. The very fluctuations are often instructive. Indeed, when we find the elements of a digraph liable to constant variation and transposition, we may be sure that this digraph is intended to represent one simple sound lying between its two elements, especially if it alternates with a single letter. Thus when we find the same sound written *eo*, *oe*, *o* in ME, we may assume that it is meant to indicate some variety of *f*. The loss of a letter is, of course, often conclusive, as when OE *h* becomes simple *l* in ME. So also are confusions, as when Late Mercian confuses *y* and *i*.

240. The introduction of a new system of spelling often throws fresh light on a language, for each orthography brings out phonetic features of its own. Thus the distinction of back and front *e* in OE becomes quite clear in the Frenchified spelling of the 13th century, in which the latter is written *ch*.

241. The third great criterion is afforded by metre. The evidence varies, of course, according to the nature of the metre. Latin verse enables us to determine with certainty the vowel-quantity, and OE and ME metre does the same to some extent. MnE metre enables us to determine the word-stress and to eliminate silent *e*'s with considerable accuracy. The ornaments of verse—vowel-assonance, rhyme, and alliteration—also throw their own light on pronunciation. Here, however, we must be on our guard against those traditional influences which result in 'printer's rhymes.' Rhymes in the infancy of the art are generally more or less imperfect, and even Italian never got so far as to separate close and open *e* and *o* in rhyme, as Middle High German did. These imperfect rhymes—which may be printer's rhymes at the same time—such as *love* : *prove*, are really 'consonantal assonances.' Rhyme is especially valuable in reconstructing the dialect of the author of a poem, when it has been hopelessly disguised, as is often the case, by being copied from one dialect into another. Thus a Scotch poem, even if transliterated completely into Southern English, would still betray its origin by such a rhyme as *home* : *name* = Scotch *hame* : *name*.

ARIAN SOUNDS.

242. The following is a classification of the chief Arian languages according to their relationship.

(a) **East-Arian** or Asiatic :

(1) Sanskrit. (2) Iranian (Zend and Old Persian).

(b) **West-Arian** or European :

(3) Greek.

(4) Latin. (5) Celtic.

(6) Slavonic (Old Bulgarian).

(7) Baltic (Lithuanian and Lettish). (8) Germanic.

243. It will be observed that Gk and Lt have nothing in common except that they are both West-Arian, that Celtic is most closely allied to Lt, and Gmc to Baltic, Gmc lying geographically between Baltic and Celtic.

244. The development of these languages seems to have been the result rather of a gradual divergence than of an abrupt separation, although no doubt the latter process may often have hastened the divergence. Indeed, if all the Ar. languages had been preserved, we should probably find it difficult to draw any definite line between the different groups. As it is, Armenian seems to be really a link between Iranian and Slavonic, and therefore between Asiatic and European, and Albanian may turn out to be a similar link between Gk and Lt.

245. By comparing the separate languages in their oldest forms, and collecting those resemblances which could not have developed independently, and must therefore be due to community of origin, we are able to reconstruct parent Ar. with some certainty—at least in its main features. It was a highly inflectional language, complex and yet symmetrical in structure, with a rich sound-system, which, as regards the vowels, is very faithfully reflected in the oldest Gk, the general structure of the language being otherwise best represented by the oldest Vedic Sk. It bore a striking

resemblance to MnE in its extreme sensibility to stress-influence.

246. But parent Arian shows distinct traces of an earlier pre-inflectional stage, in which sentences were made up of indeclinable words or 'roots,' whose relations to one another were expressed partly by position, partly by the addition of shortened words which by degrees became incorporated into the preceding root-word, 'inflection' being the result. The development of inflection implies complete subordination of one word to another; but it is possible for two words to be indissolubly joined together, each retaining its full individuality, as in *hand-made*. Such compounds as *hástu-kṛta* 'hand-made' in Sk, *kheiro-poiētos* in Gk are, in fact, nothing else but fragments of pre-inflectional sentences, as is shown still more clearly in the Sk copulative compounds, such as *ahō-rātrām* 'a day and night,' which in some cases even take an independent accent on each member. Inflection in all languages is developed mainly in connection with other words in a sentence, and words forming sentences by themselves never developed inflection at all; hence we have pre-inflectional words in vocatives and imperatives, such as Sk *dēva* 'god!' *bhāva* 'be!' It will be observed that some at least of these roots were dissyllabic. It is probable that the Ar. monosyllabic roots which we see in Sk *vāk*=Gk *ops* contrasted with *áçvas*=Gk *híppos*, are really unemphatic forms, which originally existed side by side with the fuller emphatic ones.

247. The development of the Ar. vowel-system cannot be understood without a knowledge of Ar. accentuation. That the free accent of Vedic Sk should be, in the main, that of parent Ar. is in itself very probable, and is made certain by Verner's law (315), which explains certain irregularities in the Germanic consonant-shift by the position of the accent in Sk, showing that parent Gmc and Vedic Sk must have had a practically identical system of accentuation which can only be the result of common origin.

248. There are three accents in Sk: *udātta* (raised)='acute,' *anudātta* (unraised)='grave,' and *svarita*='circumflex.' The acute is the emphatic accent, and was either a rising or

a high level tone. The syllable immediately following an acute is always circumflex—that is, probably a falling glide-tone—unless it is itself followed by an acute, in which case it is grave: *ténà* but *téna té*. Every syllable before an acute or after a circumflex is grave: *ahám*, *bhávāmi*. The acute was no doubt accompanied by stress, for the frequent dropping of grave vowels can only be explained as the result of want of stress.

249. In parent Ar. every vowel had a different form under the different accents. The result was a variety of vowel-series, each with the three stages, *strong*, *medium*, and *weak*. The most important of these is the *e-o* series, which is evidently a modification of original *a*. Under the acute accent *a* became *e* (through *ɪ*), under the circumflex it became *o* (through *ɔ*), and under the grave it was dropped altogether. The first two changes, which are evidently acoustic (133), are shown in Gk *hēpos* (where *i* is a later modification of *e*), Lt *equus* (older *equos*) = Sk *ávas* from Ar. **éwōs* 'ɪwɔs' (pre-Arian **áwās*). It will be seen that Sk opposes a uniform *a* to the Gk, Lt (and general European) *e, o*. But that this is only a comparatively late levelling in Sk itself is proved by a variety of facts. Thus Ar. *k a* become *c o* in Sk before *a* = Ar. and European *e*, as in *ca* = Lt *que* (Ar. **ke*), but not before *o* = Ar. *o*. European *o* in open syllables, as in Gk *gónu* 'knee,' *phóros* 'tribute,' is represented in Sk by *ā*, as in *jānu* ɔjɔɪ, *bhāra* ɔɔɪɔɪ; European *o* followed by two cons. being represented in Sk by short *a*, as in *dadārca* ɔɔɪɔɪ 'I saw' = Gk *dédorka*. This seems to show that the circumflex had the power of lengthening a vowel under certain conditions (when followed in parent Ar. by a vowel with a grave accent?), the short European *o* in *gónu* being due to some analogical influence. But we find also an European *ō* in the *e*-series, as in Gk *phōr* 'thief,' connected with *phērō*, *klōps* 'thief,' connected with *kléptō* 'steal.'

250. Under the grave accent the vowel is dropped entirely. Thus Sk *kārōmi* 'make' (*a* = Ar. *e*) has the past passive participle *krtá*. So also *kālpāmi* 'arrange' has partic. *klptá*. In the other languages these syllabic liquids have been

resolved into non-syllabic *r* and *l* accompanied by a distinct vowel. Thus Gk *dérkomai* 'see' has aorist *édracon*=Sk *ádrçam*. The original syllabic nasals have not been preserved even in Sk. Thus Ar. **tntó* 'stretched' appears in Sk as *talá*, in Gk as *tatós*, in Lt as *tentus*.

251. Words with the diphthong *ei* in their strong stage, such as Gk *eími* 'I go,' Sk *émi*, show simple *i* in weak forms such as the plur. *ímen* 'we go' (with shifting of the Arian accent) =Sk *imás*. It is evident that the treatment of the diphthongic vowel is perfectly parallel to that of the liquids, *ei* being equivalent to *ej*, which is parallel to *er* and *el*. So also the strong *eu* is weakened to *u* by dropping the *e*, as in Gk *pustós* 'known,' pres. *peúthomai*.

252. The reduction of *er* to *r*, of *ei* to *i* was, of course, a gradual process, and there must have been many intermediate stages. When we find Gmc *sunu* 'son' contrasting with Sk *sūnú*, Gk *bíos* 'life' with Sk *jīvá* 'alive,' it is natural to suppose that the long vowels really represent an older stage of weakening than the short ones. It is probable that *sunú* and *sūnú* etc existed side by side in parent Ar., the latter being, perhaps, the more emphatic form. This suggests a similar coexistence of *r* and *r̄* (long syllabic *r*), and when we find Sk *pūrṇá* प॒र्ण॒ 'full' (literally 'filled') with *ūr* instead of the *r* of *krtá*, and Gk *strōlós* 'strewn' with *rō* instead of *ra*, we cannot help inferring Ar. **pṛnó*, **stṛló*.

253. When *e* is flanked by unvowellike consonants, especially stops, it is generally kept in the weak stage; thus in Gk the weak *skeptós* 'seen' has the same vowel as the present *sképtomai*. But it is also dropt, as in the Gk aorist infin. *ptésthai*, pres. *pétomai* 'fly,' Sk *ásmi* (Ar. **ésmi*), plur. *smási*. The *e* was probably dropt everywhere at first, and then restored by the analogy of the strong forms. Perhaps, however, such weak forms as **skpt-* and *skept-* may have existed side by side parallel to *sunú* and *sūnú* etc.

254. In Sk many words ending in a cons. show accent-shift in inflection, thus *vāk* 'voice' has acc. *vācam*, gen. *vācás*, *émi* 'I go' has plur. *imás* 'we go.' So also in Gk *óps*=Sk *vāk* has acc. *ópa*, gen. *opós*. There is no shifting of accent in the inflection of

such words as *άρνας*, *ήίππος*, but there is every reason to believe that the later uniformity is not original. When we find strong *eu* in an unaccented syllable in Gk *leukós*, gen. *leukoú* 'white,' and, conversely, weak *r* accented in Sk *vŕka* 'wolf,' we see that in the Gk word the original change **leúkos*, gen. **lukéso* has been levelled by a compromise between the vowel of the nom. and the accent of the gen. In Sk, on the contrary, the accent of the nom. **vérkos* has been associated with the vowel of the gen. **vrkéso*. Gmc **wulfa* (OE *wulf*) points also to Ar. **wŕko*. The Zend *vehrka*, again, preserves the vowel of the nom. So also OE *swefn* 'sleep' and Gk *ήύpnos* point to Ar. **swépnos*, **supnéso*, *we* being weakened into *u* in the same way as *eu* (= *ew*) in *peúthomai*.

255. The following are the main types of the *e*-series in their three stages :

<i>strong</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>weak</i>
ek	ok, ōk	ek, k
er	or, ōr	ĕ, r
en	on, ōn	ĕ, n
ei	oi, ōi	ĭ, i
eu	ou, ōu	ũ, u

256. The other series are less clear. The *a*-series has *a* in the strong stage, as in Gk *άγō* 'drive,' Lt *agō*, OIcel. *aka*, Sk *ájāmi*=Ar. **ájō*, Gk *αίθō* 'set fire to,' OE *ād* (from Gmc **aida*) 'fire,' Gk *haúō* 'dry.' The weak stage is quite parallel to that of the *e*-series: Sk *jmán* 'path,' Gk pass. ptc. *epaktós*, the former representing the 'short-weak' (as in *ptésthai*) the latter the 'long-weak' stage (as in Sk *skeptós*); *íddhá* 'burnt,' 'pure,' Gk *ítharós*, OE *idel* 'idle' (originally 'pure,' 'empty'), the latter being parallel to Sk *jivá*.

257. The *o*-series is represented only by a few words, such as Gk *όζει* 'smells,' Lt *olō*, Gk *ανοίγō* 'open,' *κρούō* 'strike.' These examples represent the strong stage. The long-weak stage is shown in Gk *optéon* 'to be seen,' *antikrú* 'against' (literally 'striking against'), the short-weak stage in the variant *antikrú*.

258. Some words have the long vowels *ā*, *ē* and *ō* in their

strong stages, as in the Gk verbs *phāmí* 'speak,' *hístāmi* 'stand,' *títhēmi* 'place,' *dídōmi* 'give.' In all these series the short-weak stage drops the vowel altogether, as in Sk *dēvātta* = **dēva-dta* 'god-given,' pres. Sk *dādāmi* = Gk *dídōmi*. The long-weak stage has *i* in Sk, *a* in European, as in the prt. pass. ptcc. Sk *sthitā*, Gk *statós* from *hístāmi*, Gk *phamén* 'we speak,' Lt *datus* 'given.' This European *a* = Sk *i* may point to an Ar. *ə* ʃ.

259. In many cases the long vowels appear to be lengthenings of short vowels in the *e*, *a*, *o*-series. Thus the *ē* of Lt *pēs* 'foot,' the *ō* of (Doric) Gk *pōs*, Gothic *fōtu* appear to be lengthenings of strong *e* and medium *o* respectively (cp Lt *pedēs*, Gk *pódes*). So also the *ā* and *ō* of Gk *stratāgós* 'army-leader,' *ódōde* 'smelt' belongs to the *a* and *o*-series respectively.

260. Where *ō* appears in the *ā* and *ē*-series, as in Gmc **stōla* (OE *stōl*) 'stool' (+ Gk *hístāmi*), it may represent the medium stage of these series, being the result of circumflexing. Indeed, Gk *bōmós* 'altar' stands in the same relation to *bāma* 'step' as *kormós* 'log' does to *kérma* 'anything cut small.' So also Gk *rhégnūmi* 'break' perfect *érrhōga* is quite parallel to *léipō* 'leave' perf. *léloipa*.

261. Whatever its origin, the Ar. vowel-system must have had somewhat the following form :

a, ə (?)	{	i	u	ā	{	ī	ū
		e	o			ē	ō
ai		ei	oi	āi		ēi	ōi
au		eu	ou	āu		ēu	ōu

262. These vowels are represented as follows in Sanskrit, Gk, Lt, and Gmc :

<i>Ar.</i>	a	i	e	u	o	ā	ī	ē	ū	ō
<i>Sk</i>	a	i	a	u	a	ā	ī	ā	ū	ā
<i>Gk</i>	a	i	e	u	o	ā	ī	ē	ū	ō
<i>Lt</i>	a	i	e	u	o	ā	ī	ē	ū	ō
<i>Gmc</i>	a	i	e	u	a	ō	ī	ē	ū	ō

In OBg *a* is represented by *o*, *i* by *ɪ* *l*, *e* by *ɛ* *l*, *ā* by *ȃ* *l*, *ō* by *ā*. In Lith. *o* is represented by *a*, and *ā* by *ō*—both as in Gmc—and *ō* by *ū* (= *ooa*).

<i>Ar.</i>	ai	ei	oi	au	eu	ou
<i>Sk</i>	ē, ay	ē, ay	ē, ay	ō, av	ō, av	ō, av
<i>Gk</i>	ai	ei	oi	au	eu	ou
<i>Lt</i>	ae	ī	ī	au	ū	ū
<i>Gmc</i>	ai	ī	ai	au	eu	au

Sk *ē*, *ō* appear as *ay* *jo*, *av* *jo* before vowels.

263. The correspondence of the long vowel diphthongs is not certain. In Sk the first element of all of them necessarily becomes *ā*. In Gmc it seems to become *a*, so that *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi* are all levelled under *ai*.

264. In OBg all the diphthongs are smoothed, *au* becoming *ū*.

We will now consider the vowels more in detail, giving examples from the different languages.

265. a. Gk *ágō*, Lt *agere*, OIcel. *aka* 'drive.' From the same root Sk *ájras*, Gk *agrós*, Lt *ager*, Goth. *akr*, OE *æcer* 'field.' Gk *aróō*, Lt *arāre*, OBg *orati*, Goth. *arjan*, OE *ƿrian* 'plough.' Sk *ápa*, Gk *apó*, Lt *ab*, Goth. *af*, OE *of*.

266. i (weakening of *ei*). Sk *bibhidimá*, Lt *fidimus*, OE *biton*

'we bit.' So also in most of the other verbs in Gmc with *i* in the present. Sk *vidmá*, Gk *ídmen*, OE *witon* 'we know.' Sk *idám*, Lt *id*, Goth. *ita*, OE *hit* 'it.'

267. *e*. Sk *bhárāmi*, Gk *phéreín*, Lt *ferre*, OE *beran* 'bear.' Sk *mádhū*, Gk *méthū*, OBg *medŭ*, OE *medu* 'mead.' Ar. *e* was probably very open (=ɛ?), as it returns to *a* in Sk.

268. *u* (weakening of *eu*). Sk *bubudhimá*, OE *budon* 'we announced.' Sk *buddhá*, Gk *pustós*, OE *boden* 'made known.' So also in the other Gmc verbs with *eu* in the pres.

269. *o*. Sk *aṣṭaú*, Gk *októ*, Lt *octo*, Goth. *ahtau* 'eight.' Lt *now*, Gk *núx*, Goth. *nahts* 'night.' *o*, the medium stage of *e*, is seen in perfects such as Gk *dédorka*, Sk *dadárça*, Gk pres. *dérkomai*. So also Gmc *a* in *bar* 'bore' = *o*, Sk *babhāra* with lengthening (249). Goth. *satjan* 'set' = Sk *sādáyāmi*, from *sed-*. Gk *khórtos*, Lt *hortus*, Goth. *gards* 'yard'; the *e* is seen in Gk *eukherēs* 'easy to handle.'

270. *ā*. Sk *tīṣṭhāmi*, Doric Gk *hístāmi* (Attic *hístēmi*), Lt *stāre*, OBg *stati*, Lith. *stōli* 'stand,' OE *stōl* 'stool.' Gk *mātēr* Lt *māter*, OE *mōder* 'mother.'

271. *i*. Sk *jīvā*, Lt *vīvus* 'alive,' OE *cīp* 'sprout.' Short *i* in Gk *bíos*, OE *cwic* (266).

272. *ē*. Sk *dádāhāmi*, Gk (Doric and Attic) *títhēmi* 'put.' OBg *dēti* 'do,' Goth. *dēds* 'deed.' Gk *hlēmi* 'throw,' Lt *sēmen*, Goth. *sēd* 'seed.' As Ar. *ē* returns to *ā* in Sk and in some Gmc languages, it probably had the open sound ɪ.

273. *ū*. Zend *srūtō* 'celebrated' (cp Sk *ṣrutá* 'heard,' Gk *klutós* with short vowel), OE *hlūd* 'loud.'

274. *ō*. OE *dō* 'do,' *dōm* 'doom,' Gk *thōmós* 'heap,' connected with *títhēmi* 'put.' Gk *mōlos* 'trouble,' OE *māfe* 'weary' (from *mōp-*).

275. *ai*. Gk *aíthō* 'burn,' OE *ād* (from **aid*) 'fire.' Gk *laiós* 'left,' Lt *laevus*, OE *slāw* (from **slaiw*) 'weak,' 'slow.'

276. *ei*. Gk *leípō* 'leave,' Goth. *leihvan* (*ei*=*i*) 'lend.' Gk *steíkḥō*, OE *stīgan* 'ascend.' Sk *émi*, Gk *eími* 'I go.' Gk *deíknūmi* 'show,' Lt *dīco* 'say,' OHG *zihan* 'accuse,' MnG *verzeihen* 'pardon.'

277. *oi*. Gk *oídos* 'swelling,' Lt *aemidus* 'swelling' adj., Gmc **aitra* (OHG *eitar*, OE *ātor* 'poison'). *oi*, the medium

stage of *ei*, appears in Sk *éman*, Gk *oĩmos* 'path' (cp *ei* in Gk *eĩmi* 'I go'). Sk *riréca*, Gk *léloipa* 'I left,' Goth. *laikw* 'lent'; Gk *loipós* 'remaining,' Goth. *laiba* 'relic.'

278. au. Gk (Aeolic) *aúōs*, Lt *aurōra* 'dawn,' OIcel. *austr* 'east.' Gk *paúō* 'cease,' Lt *paucus*, Goth. *farai* 'few.'

279. eu. Sk *bōdhāmi* 'watch,' Gk *peúthomai* 'enquire,' Gmc *beudan* (Goth. *biudan*) 'offer.' Gk *geúō* (= **geúsō*) 'taste,' Goth. *kiansan* 'choose.'

280. ou. Sk perf. *bubhōda*, Gmc **baude* (Goth. *baup*) 'offered' Gk perf. *eiléloutha* 'came.'

281. Of the diphthongs with the first element long a few examples must suffice. Arian *ēi* is seen in Sk *prāyas*, Gk *plēlōn* (= **plēlōn*), OIcel. *fleiri* 'more.' Gk *pleĩstos* 'most' (*ei*=*ēi*), OIcel. *flestr* (*e*=*ei*=Germanic *ai*). Arian *ēu* is seen in Sk *dyáus* 'sky,' with which cp Gk *Zeús*. The Ionic Gk *ēōs* (Attic *héōs*, Eolic *aúōs*) points to Ar. **áusōs*. Sk *gaús* plur. *gávas* 'cow,' Lt *bōs*, Gmc **kō* points to Arian *ōu*.

282. The syllabic liquids are represented as follows in the four principal languages:

Ar.	r; l	ṛ	n	ṇ
Sk	r; l	īr, ūr	an, a	ā
Gk	ar, al; ra, la	rō, lō	an, a	ā
Lt	or; ol, ul	rā, lā	en	an
Gmc	or; ol	ar, al, ra	in, un	an

The forms marked (·) develop only in syllables which in later Ar. came to be accented. Syllabic *m* can hardly be distinguished from *n*.

283. r. Sk *vr̥ka*, OHG *wolf*. Sk *str̥lá* 'spread' ptc, Gk *stratós* 'army.' Sk *vr̥ddhá* 'grown,' Gk *blastós* 'sprout.' Sk *hr̥d-* 'heart,' Lt *cord-*.

284. ṛ. Sk *jīrnám* 'ground' ptc, Lt *grānum* 'grain.' Sk *īrmá*, Gmc *arm*. After lip cons. ṛ becomes ūr in Sk as in *pūrviá*, Gk *pr̥íos* 'foremost,' Goth. *frauja* 'lord.'

285. The different languages vary in the length of the *r*. Thus to Sk *strá* corresponds Gk *strōtós*, Lt *strātus*, both pointing to Ar. *r*. To Lt *grānum* corresponds Gmc *korn* (or from *r*), to Sk *pūrṇá* 'filled' OHG *vol*.

286. n. Sk *sánti*, OE *sind* (from **sinþ*) 'they are.' Sk *tatá*, Gk *tatós*, Lt *tentus*, 'stretched' (cp the Gk pres. *teinō* from **ténjō*). Sk *çatá*, OE *hund* 'hundred.'

287. ñ. Sk *gātá* 'gone' from **gñtá* or **gñtá*, Gk *báthi* 'go'! Sk *ālí* 'duck,' Lt *anas*, Oícel. *gná* (from **andú*).

CONSONANTS.

288. The following was the Ar. consonant-system :

	<i>back</i>	<i>front</i>	<i>forew.</i>	<i>lip</i>
<i>open</i>		j	r; l. s, z	w
<i>nasal</i>	n	n	n	m
<i>stop</i>	k, g	c, j	t, d	p, b
<i>aspir.</i>	kh, gh	ch, jh	th, dh	ph, bh

	ṇ	ṇ; ṇ. s, s	ṇ
ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ
ṇ, ṇ	ṇ, ṇ	ṇ, ṇ	ṇ, ṇ
ṇ, ṇ	ṇ, ṇ	ṇ, ṇ	ṇ, ṇ

The back and front nasals occur only before back and front stops (and aspirates) resp. in such combinations as *ng*, *nc*. *z* occurs only before voiced stops in the combinations *zg*, *zdḥ* etc.

289. The breath aspirates *tḥ* etc were no doubt stops followed by a stressed breath-glide, as they still are in India. The voice aspirates *dḥ* etc are described by the Sanskrit phoneticians as voiced stops followed by sonant breath, which

may mean either a mere emphasizing of the following voice-glides or a distinct guttural croak. In Vedic Sk \dot{d} ω between vowels becomes the inverted \dot{l} ω , and consequently $\dot{d}h$ becomes $\dot{l}h$, which is expressed not by a single letter, as is the case with the other aspirates, but by \dot{l} + 'sonant h ,' which in this case could not well have been anything but \dot{e} . Both classes of aspirates were originally nothing but emphasized stops, whose off-glides were exaggerated.

290. There appear to have been two j -sounds, one (\dot{o} ?) represented by z in Gk, as in *zugón*, Sk *yugám* 'yoke,' the other (\dot{r} ?) being weakened to a mere breath in Gk, as in the pronominal *hós* = Sk *yás*. In Sk the latter j in reduplication-syllables becomes i - as in *iyája* perf. of *yaj* 'sacrifice,' instead of *ya-*. So also in Sk some verbs reduplicate with *va-*, such as *vardh* 'grow,' some with *u-*, such as *vac* 'speak,' pointing to an analogous distinction of \dot{o} and \dot{r} .

291. The distinction between r and \dot{l} certainly existed in Ar. (although in Zend both are represented by r , and they are not separated so strictly in Sk as in European), but probably in a different form: it is possible that r was represented by trilled, \dot{l} by untrilled r .

292. The following table will show the development of the back and front stops in the different languages:

Ar.	k	g	gh	c	ġ	jh
Sk	k, c	g, j	gh, h	ç	j	h
Zend	k, c	g, j	g, j	s	z	z
Gk	k, p, (t)	g, b, (d)	kh, (th)	k	g	kh
Lt	q, c	g	h, g	c	g	h, g
OBg	k, č, c	g, ž	g, ž	s	z	z
Lith.	k	g, ž	g, ž	sz	ž	ž
Gmc	hw, h(w, g)	kw	gw, (w)	h (g)	k	g

Sk $c = \alpha$, $j = \mathfrak{a}$, $g = \mathfrak{o}$ (or $s \backslash ?$), $h = \mathfrak{h}$. Gk $th = \mathfrak{t}^{\circ}$. Lt $q = \alpha^{\circ}$, $c = \alpha$. OBg $\check{c} = \mathfrak{c}z$, $\check{z} = z$. Lith. $\check{z} = z$, $sz = z$.

293. The Ar. breath aspirates kh , th , ph are distinctively preserved only in Sk, having run together with original gh etc in Gk. In Gmc they were confounded with Ar. k , t , p , which themselves were aspirated into kh etc, passing afterwards into open cons. (313).

GERMANIC SOUNDS.

294. The Old Germanic languages fall into two main divisions:

(a) East-Germanic:

(1) Gothic.

(2) Scandinavian (Icelandic, Danish, Swedish).

(b) West-Germanic:

(3) Low-German (Old-Saxon, Old-English, Frisian).

(4) High German.

Within Low German E. and Frisian again form a special group 'Anglo-Frisian.'

295. By a comparison of these languages among themselves and with the other Ar. languages we can reconstruct parent Gmc with some certainty. This pre-historic Gmc language differed from its extant descendants in two important features. It still kept the free Arian accent, often shifting from one syllable to another in different inflections of the same word. Thus in the verbs the pres. and infin. had the accent on the root syllable (*béran*, *bírip*), while it was thrown on to the end-syllable in the past partic. (*boraná*), and the 2nd sg. and pl. pret. (*budén*). Nouns in *-i* and *-u* and weak masculines also throw it forward (*gamundí* = OE *gemynd*, *sunú*, *bogó* = OE *boga*). Afterwards the accent was laid uniformly on the first syllable, which was generally, though not always, the root syllable.

296. It also had a complicated inflectional system, the verb having had a number of tenses which in Gothic are reduced

NOTE.—GENERAL REMARKS. One of the most marked characteristics of the Gmc languages is their striving after symmetry and regularity, of which there is no exaggeration in such forms as *nef, nef, nef*—a system which was built up out of the comparatively irregular by a slow process of simplification and analogy—an example. This may be partly due to the influence of the Celtic languages with which the Gmc came into close contact for many centuries just as the want of symmetry and irregular varieties of Celtic seem to be due to the influence of a language of the Basque type.

VOWELS.

297. The following is the Gmc vowel-system:

a	{	i	u	ā	{	ī	ū
	{	e	o		{	ē, ē	ō
		ai	{			au	
			{			eu	

298. *a*=Ar. *a* (*takr*) and *o* (*naht, gard*).

299. *i*=Ar. *i* (*vidan*) and *e*. Ar. *e* became *i* in Gmc before nasal + cons., as in OE *bīndan* compared with *helpan*, and before an *i* or *j* in the next syllable, as in OE *bīriþ*, *bīr(e)þ* 'bears'=Sk *bhāratī*, Ar. *bhēretī*. It is possible that these two *i*'s differed in sound (f and f?). Unaccented *e* seems to have become *i* everywhere in later Gmc.

300. *u*=Ar. *u* (OE *budon, sunu*). Earlier Gmc *o* becomes *u* under the same conditions as *e* becomes *i*, as in OE *bunden* compared with *holpen, gylden* (from **gulfīna*) from *gold*.

301. *ø*=Ar. *e* (*beran*). In some words it is Ar. *i* mutated by a following back vowel, as in OE *nest* from **nizdō*.

302. *o*=Ar. *u* mutated by a following back vowel, as in OE *coren* 'chosen,' Gmc **kōzanā* (cp Gk *geō*). This influence, which is only occasional with Ar. *i*, is regular with *u*. Cp the OE partic. *sligen, togen* etc. A following *u*, however, preserves original *u*, as in OE *budun, budon* 'they offered' etc. Another main source of Gmc *o* is the development of a parasitic vowel out of the Ar. syllabic liquids (OE *corn*), which

before *n* becomes *u* (OE *hund*). Such particc. as OE *boren* point to **br̥raná*, equivalent to **b̥raná*, with the *r̥* resolved into syllabic *r* + consonantal *r*.

303. *ā*. There was no pure *ā* in Gmc, as Ar. *ā* became *ō*, but in the combination **anh* J̥C from Ar. *ank* the *n* nasalized the preceding vowel, lengthened it, and was then dropped, as in the Goth. preterite *þāhta*, OE *þāhte*, *þohte*, whose *ō* points to earlier nasality.

304. *ī* = Ar. *ī* (OE *cīþ*) and *ei* (*slīgan*). Nasalized *ī* from **inh* (= Ar. *ink*, *enk*), as in OHG *līhti* 'easy,' 'light' (Sk *langh* 'leap').

305. *ū* = Ar. *ū* (OE *hlūd*). Nasalized *ū* from **unh* (= Ar. *unk*, older Gmc *onk*), as in OE *þūhte* 'seemed,' pres. *þyncan* from **þunkjan*.

306. *æ* = Ar. *ē* (OE *dēd*), which probably had the same broad sound *ɶ*. In Scandinavian, OSaxon and High German *æ* became *ā* (OIce. *dāþ*, OSaxon *dād*, OHG *tāt*).

307. *ē*. A vowel of obscure origin in such words as *hēr* 'here'; sometimes the result of contraction.

308. *ō* = Ar. *ā* (OE *mōder*) and *ō* (*dōm*). *ō* from Ar. *ā* probably had at first a broader sound than original *ō*.

309. *ai* = Ar. *ai* (*aid*) and *oi* (*aitr*, *laibd*).

310. *au* = Ar. *au* (*austr*) and *ou* (*band*).

311. *eu* = Ar. *eu* (*beudan*).

CONSONANTS.

312. The following was the Gmc consonant-system:

<i>h, ɣ</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>r</i> ; <i>l</i> , <i>þ</i> , <i>ð</i> ; <i>s</i> , <i>z</i>	<i>w</i> , <i>f</i> , <i>v</i>
<i>n</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>k</i> , <i>g</i>		<i>t</i> , <i>d</i>	<i>p</i> , <i>b</i>

h = *c*, *ɣ* = *ç*, *f* = *ɸ*, *v* = *β*.

313. The most prominent feature of the Gmc as compared with the Ar. consonant-system is the Gmc consonant-shift (Grimm's Law, *lautverschiebung*), by which the Ar. breath stops (and breath aspirates) become open cons., while the voice stops are unvoiced, and the voiced aspirates become

simple voiced stops; the following being, for example, the correspondence of the point series:

Ar.	t, th	d	dh
Gmc	þ	t	d

Sk *tuám*, Gk *tú*, Lt *tu*=Goth. *þu* 'thou.' Sk *phēna*=OE *fām* 'foam.' Sk *ádmi*, Gk *édō*, Lt *edō*=OE *etan* 'eat.' Sk *mádhū*, Gk *méthū*=OE *medu* 'mead.'

314. Of these changes that of *d* into *t* was evidently more or less direct (through whisper). That of *t* to *þ* cannot have been by direct opening (as in OIrish *athir*=Gk *patér*), for in that case Ar. *d* would have become *ð*; it must, therefore, have been through the aspirate τ^h , Ar. *t* and *th* thus running together. *dh* in the cognates shows two lines of development. In Gk the glide is unvoiced and the resulting τ^h naturally becomes τ . In Zend, Slavonic, Baltic and Celtic the glide is simply dropped, *dh* becoming *d*. It seems natural to assume that Gmc followed the same course as its neighbours. As regards the order of the changes, it is clear that *dh* could not have become *d* till Ar. *d* had become *t*, and that this latter change could not have taken place till Ar. *t* itself had been modified—otherwise some two of the three must have run together. The changes must, therefore, have begun with that of *t* into *þ* through *th*, *d* then taking the place of Ar. *t*, and, lastly, *dh* taking that of Ar. *d*.

This general scheme is, however, modified in detail by other laws.

315. The most important of these is Verner's Law, by which original Gmc *h*, *þ*, *f* (from Ar. *k*, *t*, *p*) became *g*, *ð*, *v* in syllables which in Ar. were unaccented, *s* becoming *z* under the same circumstances. *g*, *ð*, *v* afterwards were stopped into *g*, *d*, *b*, and *z* became *r* through ω . The *g*, *d*, *b* which arise in this way are called 'weak,' to distinguish them from the strong *g* etc from Ar. *gh*. Hence the so-called 'grammatical change' by which **téuhan* (OE *tēon*) 'pull,' **séuþan* (OE *sēopan*) 'boil,' **kéusan* (OE *cēosan*) 'choose' **haffjan* 'raise' have their past partic. **tozaná* (OE *togen*), **soðaná* (OE *soden*), **kozaná* (OE *coren*), **havaná* (OE *hafen*). In these examples the unaccented syllable containing the breath open cons. is separated by an

intervening syllable from the accented one. If the cons. is in contact with the accented vowel, the rule is that the breath open is preserved if the accented vowel precedes, as in **téuhan*, **brōþar* (OE *brōþor*) = Sk *bhrātā*, voiced if the accented vowel follows, as in **faðér* (OE *fæder*) = Sk *pitā*, **tozō* (OE *toga*) 'leader.' As this weakening is due to the voicing influence of the surrounding vowel, it does not extend to the beginning of words.

316. The next exception is Paul and Kluge's Law, by which early Gmc *gg*, *dd*, *bb*, became *kk*, *tt*, *pp*, as in OE *smocc* (early Gmc **smuggá*) compared with *smūgan* 'creep.' These double voiced stops arose from Ar. *-kn*, *-ghn* with the accent on the following vowel, the weak *n* being assimilated to the preceding consonant; if, on the other hand, the accent is on the preceding vowel, the *n* is preserved. The change of Ar. *-ln* into Gmc *ll* follows the same law: cp OIcel. *pln* 'ell' from Ar. **ólnō* (Lt *ulnus*) with *full* from Ar. **prnō* through Gmc **folná*, **follá*; so also OE *wulle* from Ar. *wlnō*. In the case of the stops + *n* the order of the changes was as follows:

Ar.	ákna	ághna	akná	aghná	(agná)
Gmc	áhna	ághna	ahná	agná	akná
			agná		
			agná		
			aggá	aggá	
	áhna	ághna	akká	akká	akká

Examples are: Goth. *auhns* 'oven' from **úknos* (Sk *ukhā* 'pot'), OE *swefn* 'sleep' from **swépnō*. OE *liccian* (cp Goth. *laigōn* 'lick') from **liǵhná*- (Gk *likhneūō*, OBg *lizati*) through **liǵná*, **liǵgá*; OE *smocc* from **smukná* (OBg *smykati* *se* 'creep') through **smuzná*, **smugná*, **smuggá*; OE *hoppian* 'hop' from **kupná* (OBg *kypēti*) through **hurná*, **hubná*, **hubbá*. OE *locc* 'lock of hair' from **lugná* 'bent' (Gk *lugōō* 'bend') through **lukná*, **lukká*. After long vowels and diphthongs these double cons. were shortened.

317. Some consonant-combinations show special developments. Ar. *sk*, *st*, *sp* remain unchanged, as in OE *fisc* = Lt *piscis*, *steorra* = Gk *astēr*, Lt *stella*, *spīwan* = Lt *spuō*. Ar. *zd* becomes *st*, as in OE *nest* = Sk *nīdā* (from **nīzdā*, from

**ni-s(e)dō* 'sitting-down'), Lt *nīdus*. Ar. *zgh*, *zdh* become *zg*, *zd*, as in OE *mearg* (Gmc **mazga*) = OBg *mozgŭ*, Sk *majjá* 'marrow,' Goth. *mizdō* (OE *meord*) = Gk *misthós*, Sk *mīḍhā* 'reward.'

318. Ar. *kt*, *pt* becomes *ht*, *ft* (through $\alpha\alpha$, $\rho\alpha$), as in Goth. *ahtan* = Gk *oktō*, *haft* 'captive' = Lt *captus*. Ar. *tt* (*tth*) becomes regularly *ss* (through $\sigma\sigma$, $\sigma\nu$, ω), as in OE *gewiss* 'certain' = Gk *istós* from Ar. **wittó* (from **wittó*), sometimes *st* by analogical and other influences, as in OE *wāst* 'thou knowest,' Goth. *vaist* (Gmc **waiss*), Gk *oístha*, Sk *vēttha*, this *wāst* etc. owing its *t* to the analogy of Gmc *maht* 'thou mightest' etc. This *ss* was shortened in Gmc after a long vowel or diphthong, as in **haisi* (OE *hēss*) 'command' from **haissi*, **haitti* (cp Goth. *haitan* 'command'). So also OE *mōs* 'food' from **mōssa*, **mōtta* (cp Goth. *mat* 'food').

319. The variation between *k* and *g* etc in such forms as OE *sūcan*, *sūgan* 'suck,' *wīcing* 'pirate,' *wīg* 'war,' is often due to the influence of a lost nasal in Ar. In Ar. a nasal voiced a preceding breath stop under conditions which have not yet been determined (perhaps originally only when the syllable containing the stop was unaccented), as in Sk *rgmín* 'singing' (*re* 'song'), Gk *mígnūmi* 'mix' (Sk *miçrá* 'mixed'), Lt *mendax* 'mendacious' (*mentirī* vb), whence in Gmc a parallel alternation of *h* (*g*) with *k* etc. The probability of nasal influence in the case of *wīcing* is confirmed by the cognate Lt *vincere*.

320. The development of the Ar. back stops shows some peculiarities. The original representatives of Ar. *k* (*kh*), *g*, *gh* in Gmc are *hw*, *kw*, *gw* with the original Ar. rounding. But in an early stage of Gmc, in which Ar. *o* was still preserved as well as Ar. *ō*, *u*, *ū*, the *w* was dropped before these round vowels, while it was kept before *a*, *i*, *e*. Thus Gmc **hawwan* (OE *hēawan*) 'hew' corresponds to Ar. **kow-* (Lt *cūdo*, OBg *kovā*), **kō* 'cow' (OE *cū*) to Ar. **gō* (Sk *gāus*, Lt *bōs*), but **hwīlō* 'time' (OE *hwīl*) to Lt *quīctus*, OBg *počiti* 'rest,' OIcel. *hvass* 'sharp' (from **hvattá*) to Lt *catus*, Goth. *kvēn* 'woman' to Ar. **gēni* (Sk *jāni*). The *w* is not developed initially before a cons.: OE *hlāf* 'bread' (Gmc *hlaiḃá*) = Lith. *klėpas*. In weak Gmc syllables (315) *hw* becomes *gw*, which drops its *w* before

original *o* and *u*, as above, for example in Goth. *fairguni* (*ai* = Gmc *e*) = Lith. *Perkūnas* (accent originally on the *e*). The *w* was, of course, kept before original *a*, *i*, *e*, but here the *g* was dropt in accordance with Siever's Law, by which every *gw*—whether from Ar. *k* or *gh*—becomes *w* in weak Gmc syllables, as in Goth. *naus* 'corpse' from **na(g)wís*, Gk *nékus*, Goth. *mavi* 'maid' from **ma(g)wí*, with which compare Goth. *magus* 'boy' from **mag(w)ús* = Ar. *maghú*. The resulting alternation of *g* and *w* in different inflections of the same word according as the cons. was followed by an *i* or an *u* etc, was afterwards levelled in most cases, but has left traces in such forms as OE *gesewen*, *gesegen* 'seen' (infin. *sēon* from **seh(w)on*).

321. *h* was afterwards weakened to a breath initially, as in OE *hēr*, *hlūd*, and between vowels, as in OHG *zehan*, *sehan*, where it was afterwards dropped: MnG (tseen, zeen), OE *tēn*, *gesēon*. *h* preserved its old sound finally, as in OHG *sah*, *naht*, OE *geseah*, *nicht*.

322. The following is the correspondence of the Gmc to the Ar. consonants, starting, for the sake of convenience, from the later Gmc development:—

h = Ar. *k* (OE *hēarcan*), *c* (OE *feoh*, Gmc **fehu* 'property' = Sk *pācu*), *kh* (Goth. *haban* 'have' = Lt *habēre*), *ht* = Ar. *kt*.

j = Ar. *j* (Goth. *juk* 'yoke' = Sk *yugám*). There seems also to have been a Gmc *jj*, which appears in Goth. as *ddj* (= *dd?*), in OIcel. as *ggj* *er*, as in *tvaddjē*, *tveggja* = OE *twāgea* 'of two.'

r = Ar. *r* (OE *reht* = Lt *rectus*).

l = Ar. *l* (OE *lang* = Lt *longus*).

p = Ar. *t* (Goth. *pu* = Lt *tú*), *th* (OE *fōpa* 'troop,' Gmc **fánþjo* compared with Sk *pánthan* 'road').

s = Ar. *s* (OE *nosu* = Lt *nāsus*). *s(s)* = Ar. *tt* (OE *gewiss*).

z = weak Ar. *s* (**kozaná*, Lt *gustāre*). *zg*, *zd* = Ar. *zgh*, *zdh*.

w = Ar. *w* (OE *wāt* = Sk *vēda*), weak Ar. *k*, *gh* (Goth. *naus*, *mavi*). There seems also to have been a Gmc *ww*, represented in Goth. by *ggv* (= *er*?), in OIcel. by *gg(v)*, as in *triggv*,

trygg = OE *trēowe* 'faithful,' OIcel. *hoggva* = **haggwa* = OE *hēawan* = **hawwan* 'hew' (Gmc **hawwan*).

f = Ar. *p* (OE *fæder*), *ph* (OE *fām*). *ft* = Ar. *pt*.

n = Ar. *ṇ*, *n* (OE *lang*, *nosu*).

m = Ar. *m* (OE *medu*).

k = Ar. *g* (OE *cēosan*), *j* (OE *corn* = Sk *jirṇá*, OBg *zrĭno*).
kk = weak Ar. *kn*, *gn*, *ghn*.

g = Ar. *gh* (Goth. *gast* 'stranger' = Lt *hostis*, OBg *gostī*), *jh* (OE *gold* = OBg *zlato*), weak Ar. *k* (*toganá*), weak Ar. *kh* (OE *nægl* 'nail' = Sk *nakha*).

t = Ar. *d* (OE *etan*). *st* = Ar. *st*, *zd* (OE *steorra*, *nest*). *ht*, *ft* = Ar. *kt*, *pt*. *tt* = weak Ar. *tn*, *dn*, *dhn*.

d = Ar. *dh* (OE *medu*), weak Ar. *t* (OE *soden*).

p = Ar. *b* (OE *sæp* 'sap' = Sk *sabar*). *pp* = weak Ar. *pn*, *bn*, *bhn*.

b = Ar. *bh* (OE *beran*), weak Ar. *p* (**haband*).

323. The change of Gmc *g*, *ð*, *v*, *z* into *g*, *d*, *b*, *r*, as in the OHG participles *zogan* (*zokan*), *sodan* (*sotan*), *haban* (*hapan*), *koran* is apparently common West Gmc.

324. Final Gmc *z* is always dropped in WGmc, as in OE *wē* (Goth. *veis*, Gmc **wīz*), *mā* 'more,' Goth. *mais* = Gmc **maiz* (cp Goth. *maiza*).

325. Another WGmc change is the doubling of cons. before *j*, which was then dropped in OHG and OE, but kept in Old Saxon. Examples are OSaxon *willio* (Goth. *vilja*), *leggian* (Goth. *lagjan*), *biddian* (Goth. *bidjan*), *settian* (Goth. *satjan*), *skeppian* (Goth. *skapjan*) = OE *willā*, *lēcgan*, *biddan*, *sēttan*, *sceppan*. This doubling is in OSaxon and OE confined to cons. which are preceded by a short vowel; but the evidence of OHG forms such as *leitten* from older **leitjen* (Gmc **laidjan*) = OSaxon *lēdan*, OE *lēdan*, shows that it must once have been carried out, though soon dropped in OSaxon and OE. *-rj-* seems to have developed into *rrj* in OHG (*hōrren* = Goth. *hausjan* 'hear'), but in the other languages a parasitic vowel seems to have developed itself between the *r* and the *j*, which prevented the doubling, as in

OE *here*, gen. *heriges* = Goth. *harji* 'army,' *herian* = Goth. *hazjan* 'praise.'

HIGH GERMAN CONSONANT-SHIFT.

326. The second, or High German, consonant-shift is an independent, and much later phenomenon. The first shift was probably completed (or nearly so) some centuries before our era, the second did not begin till probably at least five centuries after it. It was a gradual process, which began in the highlands of Southern Germany, being carried out most completely in the Alemannic and Bavarian dialects, and gradually spread northward to the Frankish dialects—along the Rhine even beyond Cologne—resulting in various compromises between High and Low German, included under the common name of 'Middle-German,' to which group Modern High German belongs.

327. The following are the changes which constitute the second shift:—

Gmc	k	g, ɣ	h	t	d, ð	þ	p	b	f	v
OHG	ch, hh	k	h	z, zz	t	d	ph, ff	p	v	b
	ch = ȝc, c. z = ȝs. zz = s+s. ph = p°.									

328. The first change was the aspiration of *k*, *t*, *p* into *kh*, afterwards written *ch*, **th*, *ph*, also written *pf*, pointing to affrication (140), which in the case of *z* was carried out completely in all the dialects. After a vowel all the affricates lost their stop, the second element being doubled by way of compensation, although the doubling is simplified finally, in accordance with the general rule of OHG spelling. Hence OE *macian*, *ic*, *open*, *scip* appear in OHG as *makhōn*, *ih*, *offan*, *skif*. In one OFrankish text Gmc *t* between vowels is written *zss*, after a vowel at the end of a word *zs*, as in *wazzsar*, *dhazzs* = OE *wæter*, *þæt*; the other OHG mss writing *zz*, *z*: *wazzar*, *daz*. In MnG this weakened *z* has become *s*—*wasser* (*vasər*), *dass* (*das*)—but in MHG it never rhymes on *s*, from which it was no doubt distinguished by its dentality—*s*. Initially, and after *conss*, and when doubled (both by Gmc and West Gmc doubling) *k*, *t*, *p* remain affricates: *khorn*, *chorn* = OE *corn*,

werch=*weorc*, *we(c)chen*=*weccan*; *phenning*=*pening*, *helphan*=*helpan*, *ske(p)phen*=*scēppan*. In the above-mentioned Frankish text the strong affricate of *t* is written *z*, that of *tt* being expressed by *tz* between vowels, by *z* finally: *zit*=OE *tīd*, *holz*=*holt*, *setzan* OCS=*settan*, *scaz*=*scætt*. In the other texts they write *zz* in *sezzan* as in *wazzar* etc.

329. In the combinations *sk*, *st*, *sp*, *tr*, *ht*, *ft* the stops are not shifted: *fisk*=OE *fisc*, *stein*=*stān*, *tretan*=*tredan*, *fehthan*=*feohtan*.

330. The change of *g* etc into *k* etc, as in *kiporan*=OE *geboren*, is confined to a few of the most southern dialects. *g* etc probably had their present South Gm pronunciation *g'* etc. WGmc *gg* etc, on the other hand, are regularly unvoiced: *hrucki*=OE *hrycg*, *petti*=*bēdd*.

331. Gmc *þ* was first voiced and then stopped, becoming *d*, as in *dorn*, *erda*=OE *þorn*, *eorþe*. The intermediate *ʍ* is written *th* and *dh*, rarely with the OE *ð*.

332. Gmc *f* was no doubt voiced like *þ*, but having become a lip-teeth instead of a simple lip cons., it was not stopped. The resulting *ɣ* is expressed by *f* in the oldest texts, in accordance with OE usagē, afterwards by the Romance *u*, *v*: *fater* (*vater*)=OE *fæder*, *fluot*=*flōd*, *grāvo*=*gerāfa*. In some late texts *v* is written initially after a preceding voiced sound, *f* after a breath: *tu váhest*, *ih fáhe*, showing that *v* really meant *ɣ*.

333. Gmc *v*, being a lip-cons., was easily stopped, becoming *b*, as in *haban* (OE *hafen*, Gmc **havaná*) ptc of *heffen* (Goth. *haffan*, OE *hebban*) 'lift.' This *b* is sometimes written *p* in the southern dialects.

RUNES.

GERMANIC.

The consideration of the national Germanic alphabet—the Runic—has been deferred to the present place because its development cannot be understood without reference to the Gmc consonant-system.

334. The oldest—common Gmc—Runic alphabet of 24 letters is preserved in inscriptions going back to about the third century A.D. The order and values of its letters are as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
F	n	p	p	R	<	X	P:	H	t	l	G	z	w	y	h:
f	u	p	a	r	k	g	w	h	n	i	j	eu	p	z	s
				17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24				
				↑	B	M	M	↑	◇	⊗	⊗				
				t	b	e	m	l	n	o	d				

335. As regards the origin of the runes, there can be no doubt that they are taken either from the Greek or the Latin alphabet.

336. The changes of shape in the runes are the result of the material on which they were carved, nl slabs of beechwood. The first result of this was the substitution of angles for curves: whether we derive the runic *b* and *k* from the later Latin curved or the earlier Latin and Greek angular forms, the result would necessarily be the same. So also with *s*. The second main change was the elimination of horizontal lines, as shown in the *t*; this was to avoid cutting along the grain of the wood, which causes splintering and indistinctness. Convenience of cutting led to the substitution of perpendicular for sloping strokes, as in the *a*, and also to inversion of some of the letters, as we see in the *u*. So also *l* would have assumed the form it has, whether it was taken from the Greek-Latin *l* or the exclusively Greek *λ*. Finally, we have the principle of compactness: the side-strokes are never allowed to rise or descend beyond the top or bottom of the

main stem. Thus, as the side-strokes of **F** could not be bent downwards without confusion with **F** α , they had to be moved lower down so that they could be turned up without projecting above the top level of the main stroke. We now see that the most refractory letter was **E**. By turning it on its side they got two upright stems, and by simplifying the two other strokes into a broken line—by which at the same time they got rid of the horizontal stroke—they evolved the runic **M**. Other changes were made to differentiate letters that would otherwise be confounded, as in the case of **M** e and **M** ω , **H** k and \uparrow α . We see from \uparrow α = Greek-Latin \uparrow that the main stem might be lengthened. Hence there is no necessity for identifying α \circ with the Greek omega: it may just as well be a modification of the angular equivalent of the Greek-Latin \circ , which would, besides, have been liable to confusion with one of the forms of the η -rune ζ which is exactly that of an angular \diamond .

327. The fifteenth rune Ψ occurs only in the very oldest Scandinavian inscriptions, where it is the regular symbol of that front-modified r which stands for Gmc z , as in the nom. *ag* \times \uparrow \uparrow Ψ *gastir* = Lt *hostis*, original r being represented by \uparrow , as in **H** α \uparrow \uparrow *horna*. The Ψ —which has the form \times (possibly only an ornamental variety) in one alphabet—seems to point to the old Greek-Italian Γ rather than the late Latin **Z**.

328. We may now turn to the new letters. ζ η is clearly a reduplication of ζ k , and ζ j of \uparrow i (possibly of ζ). \uparrow w is probably a modification of runic Π u .

329. \times g and **M** d appear to be reduplications of ζ k and Greek-Latin **D** respectively. Another view is that they are the Greek \times kh and \otimes th resp.; but it is difficult to see how these letters could have been applied to Gmc sounds which at that time were either Ar. gh , dh or else some modification of them—one would rather expect them to be applied to the Gmc representatives of Ar. kh , k , th , t . The use of Greek-Latin **D** to express β seems to point to a stage in which \uparrow expressed both t and β , \uparrow both d and β —that is, when Verner's Law had begun to work, as is further shown by the existence of a runic z . When d h became simple d , a new sign

was made by first doubling and then joining back to back two \mathfrak{D} s, so that the old $\mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{b}$ came to have the exclusive value $\mathfrak{ð}$, which was afterwards made to include that of \mathfrak{b} , in order to avoid the greater ambiguity of \mathfrak{t} = both t and \mathfrak{b} . The value of OE $\mathfrak{ð}$ was in later times extended in the same way, so that it stood for the breath as well as the voiced sound. The runic $\mathfrak{X} g$ was probably formed, on the analogy of \mathfrak{M} , by a modification of \mathfrak{C} , which, in the runic alphabet as in the Latin, seems to have been originally the only back cons.

340. The value of runic $\mathfrak{F} f$ does not prove conclusively that the runic alphabet must be of Latin origin, for in Greek itself such spellings as $\mathfrak{FHE} = \mathfrak{Fé}$ from Ar. **swe* through **swhe*, show that the digamma must often have had the sound of \mathfrak{c} .

341. The evidence of the forms of the letters is strongly in favour of the Latin origin, but chronological arguments show that the runes must have been borrowed several centuries before our era, at a time when the Germanic tribes could not have been influenced by the Romans, for otherwise sufficient time would not be allowed for their divergence from their original forms. On the whole the most probable theory seems to be that the runes are of indirect Greek origin, and that they were adopted by the Goths from some non-Germanic tribe of central Russia about the third century B.C.

OLD-ENGLISH.

342. The following changes of form and value occur in the OE runes. As the sound a became $\mathfrak{æ}$ very generally in OE, \mathfrak{F} naturally took the latter value, a new sign for a being formed by a slight modification— $\mathfrak{F} a$. The name of \mathfrak{F} was **ansús*, which in OE by regular sound-change becomes \mathfrak{os} ; hence \mathfrak{F} with a slight modification— \mathfrak{F} —became the symbol of o , $\mathfrak{ō}$, keeping the place of the old \mathfrak{F} , which with its new value was relegated to the end of the alphabet. The name of the original o -rune was *ōphil*, which in OE became *āphil*; hence \mathfrak{X} assumed the value $\mathfrak{æ}$, $\mathfrak{ē}$. A sign for y was made by combining u and i into \mathfrak{m} . The diphthong $\mathfrak{Y} ea$ (or eo ?) is of obscure origin. Of the cons. $\mathfrak{G} j$ was disused because \mathfrak{o} had

been stopped into *œ*, and as *g* before front vowels had become *œ*, the rune *χ gefu* became the symbol of original *j* as well as of *g*. The pure back *ɑ* was then provided with a special symbol by modifying *χ* into **gār*. In the OE runes *k* is represented by *Ɑ cēn* in various forms, and by **k*, which is evidently a modification of the *gār*-rune, and probably stands for the back *ɑ* as distinguished from *o*, of which *cēn* appears to be the proper symbol.

343. The following is the correspondence of the OE and Gmc runes to the original Greek or Latin forms.

<i>Gk-Lt</i>	<i>Runic</i>		<i>OE</i>	<i>OE Names</i>
F	ƿ	f		feoh
V	ᚱ	u		ūr
Ð	ᚦ	þ		þorn
A	ᚦ	a	æ	æsc
R	ᚱ	r		ræd
<	< (OE Ɑ)	k	ɑ	cēn
<<?	χ	g	œ	gefu
V?	ᚱ	w		wœn
H	ᚨ	h		hægl
N	ᚠ	n		nēd
I	ᚲ	i		is
II?	ᚷ	j	—	gēr (<i>Gmc</i> *jǣra)
?	ᚢ	eu	—	eoh (<i>Gmc</i> *ehu)
?	ᚱ	p	—	peorþ
I	ᚹ	z	—	eolh (<i>Gmc</i> *elhaz)
Ɑ, S	ᚲ	s		sigel
T	ᚠ	t		tīr
ᚱ	ᚱ	b		beorc
E	ᚱ	e		eh?
M	ᚱ	m		mann
Ɑ, L	ᚲ	l		lagu
<<	<	ng		ing
O	ᚱ	o	œ	œpel (<i>Gmc</i> *ōpila)
ᚱᚱ?	ᚱ	d		dæg

Additional OE runes :

ȝ	a	āc
ƿ	o	ōs
ƿ	y	ȝr
ƿ	ea	ēar
ƿ	ei	gār
ƿ	g	—

OLD-ENGLISH SOUNDS.

DIALECTS AND TEXTS.

344. There were four chief dialects of OE: (1) *Northumbrian* (North.), (2) *Mercian* (Merc.), corresponding to the later Midland, (3) *West-Saxon* (WS), (4) *Kentish* (Kt). North. and Merc. together form the *Anglian* group. Kt represents the dialect of the Jutes, WS that of the Saxons; together they form the *Southern* group.

345. The oldest dated ms containing OE words is a Kt charter of 679, but some of the Runic inscriptions are probably older. At the end of the 9th cent. a great revival of prose literature in WS took place under Alfred, and henceforth WS becomes the official language of the laws and charters, although the local dialects are still represented in more or less unsophisticated texts. The OE texts up to 900 preserved in contemporary mss, with the exception of Alfred's works and the Chronicle, together with the Runic inscriptions, are given in my *Oldest English Texts* (OET).

346. North. extended from the Humber to the Forth. Early North. (eNorth.) from 700 or earlier to 800 or somewhat later is scantily represented by Runic inscriptions, short poems and proper names, all printed in OET. Late North. (lNorth.) of the latter half of the 10th cent. is represented by the interlinear gloss in the *Durham Gospels* (Du.) and the *Durham Ritual* (Rit.), both of which are quite free

both from WS and Scandinavian influence. There are no North. characters.

347. Mercian extended from the Thames northward. eMerc. is represented (partly at least) by the Corpus glossary (Cp), and in a very pure and consistent form by the Vespasian Psalter (VP), which is probably (as also Cp?) West-Mercian, and by some WMerc. charters. lMerc. (South Yorkshire) is represented by the interlinear gloss in the Rushworth ms of the Gospel of Matthew (Ru.), the gloss on the other gospels being a copy of Du. The language of the later Merc. charters is greatly mixed with WS.

348. WS occupied the whole district south of the Thames, with the exception of Kent, and apparently of Surrey, whose dialect seems to be nearly Kt. WS seems also to have spread up the valley of the Severn, and so encroached on the Merc. dialect. The oldest document of WS is a charter of 778, followed by one of 847. There are very few eWS charters. The most important eWS texts are Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care (Past.), and of Orosius (Or.), together with the Parker text of the Chronicle (PChr), all preserved in contemporary mss. lWS is represented most purely in Ælfric's Homilies (ÆfcH).

349. eKt is represented (partly at least) by the Epinal and Erfurt glossaries (Ep., Ef.), the former probably written at the beginning of the 8th cent., and by numerous charters in an apparently pure dialect. lKt is represented by a few charters and by glosses on the Proverbs of Solomon (Kgl).

350. Very little is known of the East-Anglian dialects of Norfolk and Suffolk, although there are a few late Suffolk charters. The East-Anglian dialects (perhaps including that of Essex) seem to have had some features in common with Kt (which may be partly the result of common WS influence), forming with it a special South-Eastern group.

351. Most of the lWS mss which are copies of earlier ones show a mixture of forms of different periods: they never retain the older forms consistently, and hardly ever carry out their own spellings consistently. There is also a considerable

mixture of dialect. This is especially the case in the poetical texts, which are mostly 10th and 11th cent. copies of Anglian originals.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

352. (The Anglo-Saxons brought with them to England their national runic alphabet. On their conversion to christianity they adopted the Latin alphabet in its British form.) At first the Latin and the Runic alphabet continued to be used side by side, the one in writing, the other in inscriptions, without influencing one another. In the oldest mss we find *w* expressed by *u(u)*, *þ* by *th*, and it is not till the 9th century that these digraphs are generally superseded by the more convenient *p* and *þ* of the Runic alphabet. Some of the inscriptions show a mixture of Roman uncials and runes.

353. The OE alphabet consisted of the following letters, those in () being only occasionally used : *a, æ, e, (ē), i, o, u, y ; b, c, d, ð, f, g, h, (k), l, m, n, p, (qu), r, s, t, þ, w, x, (z).*

354. In determining the values of the letters in OE we must be guided by the traditional pronunciation of Latin, remembering, however, that the pronunciation learnt by the Anglo-Saxons was more archaic than that of the Continent. The evidence of such Welsh loan-words as *cwyr* from Lt *cēra* shows that the Celts pronounced Lt *c* as *ɑ* everywhere, and it is to Celtic tradition we must ascribe such OE spellings as *Cent*=our *Kent*, while in the OHG of the 8th cent. *c* before front vowels was used to express (ts), as in *cit*=*zīt*. *z* still had its original value of (dz), as shown by the spelling *ladzarus*=*Lazarus* in Past. OE spelling is also very archaic in its retention of *y* in its original value of Greek *u* *f*, while in OHG it had been confounded with *i*, and almost entirely disused. *y=f* survives to the present day in Swed. and Dan., having been introduced into Scandinavia by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. Lastly may be noted the separation of *ae, oe* and *e*, which on the Continent were soon levelled under simple *e*. Here, again, the Scandinavian languages show English influence. *oe* is always written in two letters, but *ae* is con-

tracted into *æ*, especially in WS, the earlier texts writing indifferently *ae*, *æ*, *ƿ* (in which the tag is a shortened *a*), and—by omission of the tag of *ƿ*—*e*. In VP *e* is regularly written for short *æ*, and *æ*, *ae*, *ƿ* are reserved for *ǣ*. In Kt, both early and late, *e* is freely used both for *æ* and *ǣ*. In this book the *ƿ* of the mss is printed *æ*, to avoid confusion with the normalized *ƿ* parallel to *p*.

355. There is, however, a good deal of uncertainty about OE pronunciation, owing especially to the defects of their consonant-symbols, *g*, for instance, being a very ambiguous letter. Here we must be guided by comparison with the cognates, and with the ME and MnE forms, as also by the laws and analogies of OE itself, and the variations of its spellings.

STRESS (METRE)¹.

356. As quantity and stress are as essential elements of metre as time and barring are of music, it follows that the metres of a dead language ought to be, or at least may be, sure guides to its quantity and stress.

But in practice it is impossible fully to harmonize the natural quantity and stress of a language with the artificial quantity and stress of metre: one or other must go to the wall. Thus, our present verse is based mainly on the natural stress of the language, each strong stress marking the beginning of a foot (bar). But the stress-groups of ordinary speech amount to nothing more than prose: to make these stress-groups into metrical feet it is necessary to have them of equal (or proportionate) length, and in English verse we lengthen or shorten syllables without scruple in order to make the feet of the requisite length. In Greek and Latin, on the contrary, the language itself supplied the quantities, and the division into feet (barring) was effected by an artificial metrical stress (ictus), which completely overrode the natural stress of the language. It was natural in Greek and Latin to found metre on the quantities rather than the stresses of the language partly because stress was probably not very prominent, but

¹ Rieger: Die alt- und angelsächsische verskunst.

mainly because of the strictness and clearness of the distinctions of quantity and their entire independence of position and accent. In English these conditions are so imperfectly fulfilled that it is almost impossible to reproduce in it even so simple a metre as the Greek hexameter. In some languages, especially those which have no marked distinctions of stress (and quantity) the natural language supplies nothing but the number of syllables, which is strictly adhered to, such a variation as *āaa* for *āā* (as in the hexameter) not being allowed. We have then three varieties of metres, if we class them according to their linguistic basis : (1) *stress*-metre, (2) *quantity*-metre, (3) *syllable*-metre.

357. There are, of course, endless compromises possible. Even in Greek there can be no doubt that the natural quantities were often forced in metre; and in English the best poets are influenced by an unconscious respect for the natural quantities of the language.

358. Old-English verse is a remarkable instance of such a compromise. In it the number of syllables is perfectly indifferent, as long as they do not interfere with the other conditions. Quantity is rigorously observed within certain limits, but the main element is the natural stress of the language, both word- and sentence-stress, whose laws are observed with great strictness. Alliteration is indissolubly connected with stress. Each full (long) verse has four stresses, and is divided by the caesura into two half (short) verses, bound together by alliteration : one or two accented syllables in the first half verse and one in the second beginning with any vowels (generally different) or the same consonant, the last alliterative syllable being always the last but one :

þācōm inngān | ealdor þegna,
 dædcēne monn | dōmege weorþod.

359. The alliterating syllable must not only be the stressed one of the word it belongs to, but this word must also have the strongest stress of any in the half verse. We know by the written accents of OHG mss that in all syntactical combinations of nouns (subst. or adj.) the first member of the group had the main stress, the verb being regularly subordinated

to the noun, and the metrical laws show the same principle was followed in OE also. Thus in such a line as

sunu Bēanstānes | sōþe gelæste

sunu necessarily takes the alliteration because it precedes *Bēanstānes*, and such a line as *Bēanstānes sunu sōþe gelæste* would be impossible, because then *Bēanstānes* would take the chief stress and alliteration, while, on the other hand, it would be quite regular if some verb were substituted for *Bēanstānes*. So also in such groups as *‘fēoden :mære, ‘mære :fēoden* ‘famous prince,’ *‘ēaran :twā, ‘twēgen :fēt, ‘fēoden :Hrōþgār, ‘wordum :wīs, ‘hand and :rand* ‘hand and shield.’ Quantitative, half-pronominal adjectives, such as *fela, manig, eall* form an exception : *ealles ‘mannecynnes*.

360. Pronouns are generally subordinated to verbs as well as to nouns, often also to prepositions : *nænig heora ‘fohte, ‘of hiera ‘æpelum*. Emphatic pronouns, such as *self, ōþer, ælc, ægþer* are, however, treated like nouns. Even unemphatic personals and demonstratives (articles) sometimes take the full stress from a noun or another pron. : *‘uncer twēga* ‘us two,’ *þū ‘mē sealdest, on ‘fām dæge ‘þisses līfes*.

361. Adverbs are treated like nouns when they form a sort of compound with a following noun or verb : *‘wīde gesīene, ‘feorran cumen, ‘inn gān, ‘bī standan*. If the adv. follows the verb, it generally loses its stress : *‘wītan þurh, ‘fēhþ ōþer tō*. In other cases adverbs, especially quantitative and intensive (cp the corresponding adj., § 359) do not generally take the stress : *micle ‘lēofre, ful ‘þicclīce, nealles ‘swāslīce* ‘not pleasantly.’ Other adverbs, such as *hū, swā, þær, þonne* sometimes take the stress from the verb, but often not : *þanon hē gesohte, hū ‘lamp ēow?*

362. A finite verb is generally subordinated to an infinitive, participle or finite verb dependant on itself, just as if they were nouns : *gē mōton ‘gangan, ‘bīdan wolde, ēow hēt ‘spegan, hēr sindon gefērede, cwædon þæt hē ‘wære*.

363. The fundamental principle of OE sentence-stress evidently was to stress the modifying, attributive word, which was generally put before the word modified.

Composition-stress.

364. In composition the same principle is evident: the modifying word comes first, and takes the stress, as in *·heofon-rice*, *·heard-ecg* 'hard of edge,' *·sōþ-fæst*, *·eorþ-lic*, where the unstressed second element has had its vowel shortened (Goth. *-leik*).

Abstract (verbal) substantives compounded with inseparable particles throw the stress on to the particle in the same way, as in *·and-swaru*, and the analogy of Sk makes it probable that this was also the parent Ar. accent. The corresponding verbs take the stress on the root, the particle being often weakened, so that we have in OE such pairs as:

<i>·and-giet</i> 'intelligence'	<i>on'gietan</i>
<i>·æf-þunca</i> 'grudge'	<i>ofþyncan</i>
<i>·or-þanc</i> 'device'	<i>āþencan</i>
<i>·ūþ-gang</i> 'escape'	<i>oþ'gangan</i>
<i>·bī-geng</i> 'worship'	<i>be'gangan</i>

Substantives corresponding to verbs with separable prefixes (361) take the stress on the particle in the same way, thus to the separable compound verb *·inn-gān* corresponds the inseparable compound subst. *·inn-gang*.

365. The different treatment of substt and verbs is due to the fact that *andgiet* etc were true compounds already in parent Gmc, while in *on'gietan* as well as *inn-gān* there was only a loose collocation of the two elements, so that the accent could be put either on the particle or verb, according as the one or the other was more emphatic. In Sk there is no such thing as inseparable verb-composition. In a normal Sk independent sentence the verb is put at the end and has no accent, which is taken by the preceding particle, as in *ápa gacchati* 'he goes away,' while in a dependant sentence the particle yields its stress to the verb, as in *yó 'pa gáccchati* 'who goes away.' The former corresponds to the OE *·inn-gān*, the latter to *·wlitan þurh*, *on'gietan*. Such compounds as *ongietan* did not become inseparable till the prefix had lost its independent meaning, as also, in many cases, its independence of form.

366. The same stressing of the root-word is common in compounds of prep. + subst. or adverb, such as *tō·dæg*, *of·dūne*, *tō·gædre*, *be·foran*, where we have similar weakenings of the first element, *of·dūne* becoming *adūne*, and even *dūne* in *dūne·stīgan*, *be·ūtan* becoming *būtan*, etc.

QUANTITY.

Metre¹.

367. The line quoted above

þā cōm inn-gān | ealdor þegna

is an example of the quantitative element in OE verse in its simplest form :

āā āā | āā āā

While the quantity of the unstress syllables is indifferent, the substitution of such a word as *cýning* for *ealdor* would spoil the verse : it would be too short.

368. Such a half-verse as *cýning on corþre* is, on the other hand, correct, because *āāā* is metrically equivalent to *āā*.

369. The number of unaccented syllables between the stresses may be increased even to three, as in *ærest gesohte*, *sægde sē þe cūþe*. But such a half-verse as **æresta sohte* would be impossible, because when a long stress syllable is followed by a medial syllable, this medial syllable takes a secondary stress, and the verse becomes too heavy.

370. The following are the five main types of the second half-verse, which is more regular in its structure than the first (note that the quantity of weak and half-strong syllables, and of strong syllables at the end of a verse is indifferent) :

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| (a) āa āa : | ealdor þegna |
| (b) -a(a) āa a : | sipþan ærest wearþ |
| (c) -a(a) ā āa : | ond heaþowædum |
| (d) ā ā·aa : | fēond manncynnes |
| (e) ā·aa a : | Sūpðena folc |

371. It will be observed that the truncation of the second foot of (b) and of the first of (c) is made up by the initial weak

¹ Sievers: Zur rhythmik des germanischen alliterationsverses (Paul und Braunes Beiträge, x).

syllables—the ‘auftakt,’ while (*d*) and (*e*) are weighted by the additional half-stress, whose quantity is indifferent. Similarly in (*a*) if the second half of the first foot is a half-stress syllable, the following stress-syllable may be short, as in *wyrd :oft nērep, āa aa* being felt as of equal weight with *āa āa*.

372. In (*c*) the immediate succession of two long stress-syllables as in *gebūn hæfdon* is generally avoided, either by resolving the first stress into two short syllables, as in the example above, or else by having the next stress-syllable short, as in *on land Dēna*. Here there is no compensation elsewhere in the verse.

373. In the first half-verse the same types re-appear, but with certain licenses in the introduction of half-strong and weak syllables, which are often associated with double alliteration.

Orthography.

374. The metre enables us to settle the quantity of accented vowels with certainty in many cases, but in many it fails. It tells us nothing about the quantity of unstressed vowels (for the fact that such a word as *bindere* takes a secondary stress on its second syllable has nothing to do with the length of that syllable), or of vowels followed by more than one cons. It therefore becomes necessary to examine the ms evidence.

375. Doubling of long vowels is common in the oldest mss, and occurs throughout the OE period. It is often confined to monosyllables, as in *aa* ‘ever.’

376. In VP the short *æ* is written *e*, as in *cester, hefde, bec*, *æ* being written *ae* (*æ, e*), as in *dael, dæl, dēlan*. The diphthong *ei* having become simple *ē*, this sound is sometimes expressed by *ei*, as in *eil, deid=ēl, dēd* in Cp, *feing* Du. In WS *ig* is used to express *ī*, as in *astigge* in the Past., *wiggend*, and in the later *hig=hī*, etc.

377. There are a few accents in Cp, and in the 10th cent. they become common, though there is no ms which accents fully. VP has a few doublings, but no accents. Accents and doubling are sometimes combined: *wīf, wīf* OET, *áá* BIH. Sometimes two accents are written on one vowel (as in a

charter of 997). The OE accent is the 'apex' of the Latin inscriptions. According to the general principles of British calligraphy it is generally finished off (like the straight final stroke of many letters) with a tag, which has misled most German editors into printing it as a circumflex. It is often difficult to know what vowel it is put on, but as there can be no doubt that it was written upwards, we must assume that it is meant to be over the letter where it begins. But it often begins distinctly on a preceding or following cons., and is sometimes even shifted on to the vowel of another syllable: *béganum*, *begánun* Leechd., *wæran*, *apás* Or. In the first instance, however, the accentuation may be intentional (cp 381).

378. As the older editors omit the accents, while Kemble and the Germans normalize, and Thorpe sophisticates the ms evidence, it is difficult to get at it. Thorpe's Chronicle is, however, reliable. So also are the Cambridge ed. of the Gospels, Cockayne's Leechdoms, Godwin's Guplac, the Blickling Homilies (BlH), and my own OET, Past., and Or.

379. The accuracy of the mss differs greatly. The best is the (Lauderdale) Or., which has hardly more than two undoubted errors. PChr has nothing doubtful down to 937 (except *wég*). Both mss, however, accent sparingly, and confine their accents to a few words, such as the pret. *fór*. The Cambridge ms of Æfch printed by Thorpe (but not as printed by him) is fairly good, as also the WS Gospel of Mtt. The Past. accents freely, but often very inaccurately: it would be easy to prove from this text that every vowel in the language was long; if, however, we disregard every case in which a word is accented only once, most of the anomalies disappear. In the following details a single occurrence of a doubled vowel, or of an accent in Or. has been considered authoritative, but, as a rule, no quotations have been made from the accented words of the other texts unless the word (or some inflection etc of it) occurs at least twice in the same ms. Wherever an isolated form is quoted from these texts, it is enclosed in ().

380. In some cases it seems doubtful whether the accent was not meant to indicate something else than quantity.

neopohard, *edúælle* in Cp, together with *úuittún* (OET), seem to show that *ú*, *úu* were used for consonantal *u*, *uu*=*w*. Cp *íus*=Lt *jus* in the Leechd. Such accentuations as *ſátu* (twice on one page in Past.), *ópeue* (Past.), *cýning* (Chr), *gecúron* (Chr), *ahrédde* (ÆfcH) cannot possibly indicate length, which would be against metre and the whole history of the language, and if they mean anything at all, it must be stress, which the scribe confused with quantity.

381. But there are many accents which cannot be anything but the result of pure carelessness. The accents not being required by the reader (I myself being able to read an unaccented quite as fluently as an accented text), came to be regarded as ornaments, without which the page had a bare look, and were consequently partly written mechanically, partly dashed in almost at random. Sometimes, of course, quantity-marks are a help, as in the case of *God* and *gōd*, which latter is often written *good*, *gód* in the homilies, the striving after distinction being evident in such a collocation as *godes good* in BIH. Hence when a scribe deliberately writes *God* with an accent, as happens once in the Or. and several times in ÆfcH, we can only ascribe it to careless neglect of the context. So also when we find in Guþl. *ic wíte* subj. pret. followed by the correct pres. *ic wíte*. A very puzzling feature of some later texts, such as two mss of the Leechd., is their accentuation of inflectional syllables: *bogás*, *wæran*, *buterán*, *namán*, *syfán*, *drincán*, *gehwædúm*, *langúm*, *wearmúm*, *wundúm*, *nemnéð*. But this is probably merely the result of dashing in the accents after the page has been written, the accent being meant for the preceding syllable. It often happens that the accents get worse in the middle of a ms. Thus in Past. they seem more careless after pp. 70-80, and in the WS Luke there is a marked change for the worse after cap. 12.

382. The results of metrical and accentual evidence can often be confirmed by that of ME, especially as shown in Orm's spelling, and MnE.

383. The lengthening of final strest vowels is proved by the accents: *ué*, *geé*, *ðú* Du.; *hí* Ru.; *hé*, *hí* ÆfcH; *hé*, *fé*, *mé*, *þú*, *hí*, *hig* Mtt. In Mtt the emphatic pronominal *sē* is often

accented: *his ys sé be þam þe gecweden ys..; sé ðe togyrþð..; sé byðð..; sé þe segð.* The article *se* is not accented in Mtt, and rarely elsewhere. There is no accentual authority for a distinction between *ne* 'neither' and *ne* 'not,' *ne* occurring only sporadically in both senses—oftenest in that of 'not.'

384. There is unmistakable evidence of lengthening before single cons. in subordinate monosyllabic words:

of (prep. and adv.) Past., Or., Chr.

ón (prep. and adv.) Past., Or., Du., Æfch. Also *án* in Or.

ác (conj.) BlH, Leechd. Orm has *acc.*

æt prp. VP. *ðæt* VP. *gíet* Past. *gýt, gít* Æfch; *gýt* often elsewhere.

For other words the evidence is not so full:

ts (OET), Past. (often), and elsewhere. *his* Chr. *þés* Chr. Pronominal *þés* in Mtt.

hím Or.

tc Ct. *méc* Du.

hít (OET). *hwét* Æfch.

385. Lengthening in the following prefixes seems to fall under the same head:

ör-wene Æfch, *örsorgnesse* Past.

án-syn Mtt.

ún-asegenullic, úngemetlic, únmltsung Or. *ún-* Du., Æfch, Mtt, Guþl.

wánn-spedig Or. = *van-*.

fórdón in Or. is more doubtful.

386. If the lengthenings of *on* and of *un-* etc are parallel, we should expect to find the prefix *a-* (which was probably short at an earlier period) lengthened in the same way as *swā* etc. That this was the case is proved by the accents: *árede* etc OET, *ásendan* etc Or., Past., Ru., Æfch, Guþl. (not in Du. ?). The later weakenings of *on* and *of* seem to have been lengthened by the analogy of this older *ā-*: (*áweg, ámang, ádlune*) = *onweg, ongemang, ofdlune* Chr. *tóbræc* PChr shows that the older prefix *ti-* was levelled under the prp. *tō*.

387. There are similar lengthenings in strong words also:

boor, goor Cp. *foor* (?) Ep. *wér* 'man' Past.

wél Past.

paat = *pæþ* Cp.

loob Cp, *lōf* Past. (often), *ÆfeH*, and elsewhere. *loff* in O.

fraam, *haam* Ep.

bét(t) compar., *lótwerencas*, and *gíl(e)* Past.

388. These lengthenings seem to be the result of analogy: *un-*, for instance, becoming *ūn-* because there are several common words ending in *-ūn* (*dūn*, *tūn* etc), but only rare and doubtful ones in *-un* (*geþun*, *gestun*, *gemun*). *on*, again, is the only word in *-on*, except *þon* and *hwon*, which are practically mere variants of *þæm* and *hwæm*, and are frequently written *þan*, *hwan* (there are, of course, many words in *-en* = *-an*, such as *gemon*, *swon*). *wer* and *wel* are almost the only words in *-el* and *-er* (except the imperatives *ber*, *stel*, which would follow the analogy of *beran*, *stelan*), there being also very few in *-er*, and none in *-el*. The only words in *-of* are *of*, *hof*, *lof*, while there are many in *ō* (*hōf* sb, prt, *behōf*, *hrōf*, *glōf* etc). The only words in *-or* are *bor*, *gor*, *spor*, *dor*, the last two being probably long as well as the others. *get* 'yet' is almost the only word in *-et* besides (*and*) *get* and *set*. The only word in *et* is *bet*, where the analogy of meaning of *bētan* may have helped the lengthening. Short monosyllables seem to be altogether in a minority in OE.

389. The original short vowels were no doubt preserved (1) in inflections: *lōf*, *lofes*, *lofu*; (2) when the word was unemphatic.

390. *socc* in Ep. for the normal *socc* of Cp and *buuc* in Cp = *bucc* 'buccula' of Ep. look like a confusion between consonant- and vowel-length. So also *ic ánn* Ct, *món*, *mónn*, *mán*, *mánn*, *mén*, Past., *món* Or., *mán*, *món* Chr. Many of these last are the impersonal *man* 'one,' which was weak, and probably had a short *n*, and therefore falls under the same head as *on*. *he ongíl(t)* Past. (*ðís*, *ðiss*) Past.

391. (*aríssas*, *wácc*, *écc*, *unródt* = *unröt*, *bídtende* = *bítende*) in Du. show the confusion still more clearly: here the quantity is indicated twice over. In (*úuin*, *únnen*) the later history of the words seems to show that there was real doubling of the cons., as in *áttor* etc below.

392. Accentuation of short syllables followed by an un-

strest syllable is mostly sporadic (380). But not in the following cases:

hérian ÆfcH.

híne ÆfcH often. Analogy of *hí*?

háfenleast, *háfene* ÆfcH. *ófen* Mtt. *ófer* Past. (cp *únder* Past.).

(*lósad*, *gelósas*) Du.

wétere John; analogy of *wét*? or confusion with **wættre*?
ic éte (*étan*, *étað*, *ét*) Mark, and similarly in Du.

féder Guþl.

393. *w* lengthens in the WS -*iw*: *híw* Æfc, *níwe* Æfc, Mtt, Luke.

394. *g* seems to have a lengthening influence:

dæg ÆfcH, Luke and elsewhere.

wég Past., very often.

hóga, *hógian* ÆfcH.

geslégén, *hrégel* Guþl.

écgum Chr.

So also in the verbal endings: *fæstnaagið* Du., *wuniggendum* BIH (*gelacnigan*), *geendigéan*, *maníanne* (*ðonclað*) Past. Here, however, the lengthening may be partly compensatory. The lengthening in *dæg* etc seems to be explained by Æfc's spellings *dæig*, *weig*, the accent really indicating the glide: *we̥l̥o*.

395. The lengthenings before vowellikes + cons. ('group-lengthenings') are important:

r: *rþ*: *fórþ* Guþl.

rn: *árn* ÆfcH, Mark, Luke. *berérn* Du. *ýrnan* Leechd. *hórne* Leechd. *þórn* Ct, Guþl.

rt: *éart* BIH. *Pórt* Chr.

rd: *héardige* Leechd. *-géard* Chr. *fýrd*, *fírd* Chr. *wúrdan* Chr. *órde* Verc. *wórd* ÆfcH, Du., Luke. *gewórdén* Luke. *broord* Ef. is probably an error of the German scribe. (*wýrd*, *forwýrd*) BIH.

l: *ll*: *wælle*, *fael* [not in *helle*, *sellan*, etc.] VP. *aalle* (*álle*) Du.

lf: *cælf* VP.

lm: *cwælman* VP.

paat=*pæp* Cp.

loob Cp, *lōf* Past. (often), *ÆfcH*, and elsewhere. *loff* in O.

fraam, *haam* Ep.

bét(t) compar., *lōtwrencas*, *andgíl(e)* Past.

388. These lengthenings seem to be the result of analogy: *un-*, for instance, becoming *ūn-* because there are several common words ending in *-ūn* (*dūn*, *tūn* etc), but only rare and doubtful ones in *-un* (*gepun*, *gestun*, *gemun*). *on*, again, is the only word in *-on*, except *fon* and *hwon*, which are practically mere variants of *fēm* and *hwēm*, and are frequently written *fan*, *hwan* (there are, of course, many words in *-on*=*-an*, such as *gemon*, *swon*). *wer* and *wel* are almost the only words in *-el* and *-er* (except the imperatives *ber*, *stel*, which would follow the analogy of *beran*, *stelan*), there being also very few in *-er*, and none in *-el*. The only words in *-of* are *of*, *hof*, *lof*, while there are many in *ō* (*hōf* sb, prt, *behōf*, *hrōf*, *glōf* etc). The only words in *-or* are *bor*, *gor*, *spor*, *dor*, the last two being probably long as well as the others. *get* 'yet' is almost the only word in *-et* besides (*and*)*get* and *set*. The only word in *et* is *bet*, where the analogy of meaning of *bētan* may have helped the lengthening. Short monosyllables seem to be altogether in a minority in OE.

389. The original short vowels were no doubt preserved (1) in inflections: *lōf*, *lofes*, *lofu*; (2) when the word was unemphatic.

390. *socc* in Ep. for the normal *socc* of Cp and *buuc* in Cp = *bucc* 'buccula' of Ep. look like a confusion between consonant- and vowel-length. So also *ic ánn* Ct, *món*, *mónn*, *mán*, *mánn*, *mén*, Past., *món* Or., *mán*, *món* Chr. Many of these last are the impersonal *man* 'one,' which was weak, and probably had a short *n*, and therefore falls under the same head as *on*. *he ongíl(t)* Past. (*ðís*, *ðiss*) Past.

391. (*aríssas*, *wácc*, *écce*, *unródt*=*unrōt*, *bídtende*=*bítende*) in Du. show the confusion still more clearly: here the quantity is indicated twice over. In (*línin*, *línnen*) the later history of the words seems to show that there was real doubling of the cons., as in *áttor* etc below.

392. Accentuation of short syllables followed by an un-

firas (*friho* gpl OSaxon), *swīora*, *ōnetlan* = **onhailjan*, *ōretta* = **urhailja*. The short vowel in such a form as *feores*, which the metre shows to have existed side by side with the normal *feores*, is explained by the influence of the uninflected *feork*. The metre also shows *þyrel*, *þýrel*, due to an older alternation **þýrel*, **þýrles* from **þyrhil*, **þyrhles*.

401. The dropping of *g* (chiefly in IWS) before *l*, *æ*, *d* lengthens the preceding vowel:

ii Past.

ren Or., Æfch. *gén* Vere. *ongén* Mtt. *befrínende*, *befrán* Æfch. *þén* Mtt., Luke.

geuél, *beuél* Or. *æde*, *léde* Æfch., Luke. *bréd* Guþl.

402. When, in inflection, derivation, or composition, another cons. is added to a cons. preceded by a long vowel, the length of the vowel seems to be generally kept:

héraumian Du. *rfrian* Chr. *gílsung* Past.

to dōnne Past., Æfch.

wíþman Or.

wíngearð Mtt.

hét (= *hætt*, *húteþ*), *æft* (= *æcoteþ*) Or. *lét* (= *lædeþ*, *læteþ*) Æfch. *gemette* Mtt. *fielt* VP. *hérde* Du. *lérde*, *férde* Luke. *ge-keude* Cp. *geþýmde* Chr. *gecéde* Du. *aféúde* Or. *lædde* VP. *hédde* Guþl. *dóndum* BlH. *wíslom* Or., Past., Luke.

403. Shortening before cons.-groups is uncertain, the evidence being, of course, purely negative. I have not met with any accents before *ht* in such words as *brohte*, *sohte*, *geþoht*, nor in the forms *minne*, *þinne* from *mīn*, *þīn*. VP, however, has *neht*, *miehtun*.

404. Weakening of stress in composition only occasionally shortens. *-dom* and *-hād* seem to have always kept their long vowels: *-dom* Or., Vere., *-doom* Past.; *-hād* Past., Æfch. *-lic* and *-red* (in proper names; cp § 45c) are very rarely accented. The shortness of *-lic* is proved by the frequent *-lee*, and by the metre, which, however, often shows *i*, especially in the adverbial *sice*. The pronoun *is* is accented in Du., Past., and Æfch.

405. The vowels of inflectional and derivative syllables appear to have been shortened throughout, as shown by their interchange with one another and weakening into *e*.

406. Lengthening of *æ* in strong preterites: *bræc*, *wræc*, *sæt*, *bæd* Or., *sæt* Chr., *gebær* Æfch, together with *genám* Æfch, seems to be due to the influence of the plurals *bræcon*, *námon* etc. *wæs* was probably protected from this lengthening by its want of stress and difference of cons. (pl *wæron*), but Chr. has *wæes*. *étt*, *ét* in Du. shows original lengthening (OIcel. *át*).

407. The accentuation of the diphthongs calls for some remarks. In Or., Du., Æfch *ēa*, *ēo* are often accented, *ea*, *eo* hardly ever, but other mss confuse them more or less. On the whole, the intention seems to be to put the accent on the first element: *ēa*, *ēo*. In Æfch both elements are sometimes accented: *éa*, *léof*. In Or. *ie* 'river' alternates with *ié*, and in Æfch *iú* 'formerly' with *iú*.

408. Foreign words appear to have had their strest vowels long, the metre showing *Sātan*, *Ādam*, *Ēve*, *Īsac*, *Dāvid*, *Māria* etc. In Æfch, however, we find *Adám*, *María*. BIH has *Adám*. In these words every prominent syllable was probably strest pretty evenly.

Consonant-quantity.

409. In OE metre such a word as *winne* is exactly equivalent to *wīne*, *wine* 'friend' being equivalent only to a monosyllable such as *wīn* or *wynn*. Again, two such words as *in* the prp and *inn* the sb and adv are kept strictly apart by the double *n*; for, although *inn* is often written *in*, the *n* of the prp *in* is never doubled, except in very late mss verging on ME, where the distinction of quantity in final cons. was lost. Finally, of course, the distinction could only have been purely quantitative: *f7*, *f7*, but between vowels it was probably syllabic, the second cons. beginning a new syllable: *æf7*, *æf7-7*, as in the MnE *pen-knife*; such, at least, is the pronunciation of MnIcel., Swedish and Italian. In eWS final cons. length is preserved after long as well as short vowels, as in *bebiett* 'commands'; but in IWS it seems to be shortened in such cases: *bebýt*. IWS also shows a tendency to shorten cons. medially in unstrest syllables, as in the gen. *wēstenes*, gen. fem. *ōpere* = eWS *wēstennes*, *ōperre*. Shortening of doubling before another cons., as in the acc. masc. *ealne*, *midne* = *eallne*,

midðne, may be only a graphic abbreviation, as it certainly is finally in *eal*, *bed* etc = *eall*, *bēdd*, gen. *ealles*, *bēddes*. The doubling of *g* is usually written *cg* (551), and this is scarcely ever shortened.

410. OE cons.-doubling is partly Ar. and Gmc (316), partly WGmc (325), partly the result of special OE developments. The oldest of these last is the doubling of the breath-stops *c*, *t*, *p* together with *h* before *r* and *l*, alternating however with retention of the single cons.: *bit(t)er*, *æppel* from Gmc **bitra* (Goth *baitr*), **apla*, North. *tæhher* (= WS *tēar*) from Gmc **tahra*. The variation between double and single cons. not only in different dialects but in the same text seems to point to an original inflection **bit(o)r* (cp *otr* Ep. = the later *otor*, *ottor* in Cp), *bittres* etc, the development of the parasite-vowel preventing the doubling in the uninflected form. Doubling of *t* and *d* after long vowels, as in *āttor*, (*atr* in Ep.) 'poison', *næddre*, *fōddor* seems to be later. In IWS doubling after a long vowel before the *r* of the compar. is very common: *riccra*, *dēoppa*, whence, by analogy, the adv *dēoppor*.

411. Other doublings are the result of syncopation and assimilation, as in *lædde*, *lætt* prt and 3 prs of *lædan*, from **lædede*, *lædeþ*.

VOWELS.

412. The following is the OE vowel-system in its normal eWS form:

a	q	æ	i	e	u	o
		ea		eo		
		ē	ie		y	œ
ū	ā	ī	ē	ū	ō	
		ēa		ēo		
			īe		ȳ	œ
<hr/>						
ɰ	ʃ	ɿ	ɿ	[	ɿ	}
		ɿl		[ɿ		
		[	ɿ		f	{
ɰ		ɿ	ɿ	[ɿ	ɿ	ɿ
		ɿʃ		[ɿ		
			ɿ		f	{

The changes by which the OE vowel-system developed out of the Gmc are partly isolative, but mainly combinative.

a, æ, ǫ

413. The most important of the isolative changes is that of Gmc *a* into *ǣ*, which is common OE in such words as *wæs*, *æcer*, *fæder*=Goth. *was*, *akr*, *fadar*. When an *a*, *o* or *u* follows, WS generally has *a*, thus *dæg* has pl *dagas*, dat. pl *dagum*. So also in *hafoc* 'hawk'. But in the oldest texts we find such forms as *hæbuc* (Ef.), *hebuc* (Ep.), where *e*=*ǣ* (354), the later Cp showing *habuc*. So also Ep. has *besu* and *bæso* against the *baso* of the Leiden gl. and WS. Ef., again, has *hæra* against the *hara* of Ep. and Cp.

414. As we see, *æ* is sometimes written *e* in the oldest texts. This spelling is regular in VP, where *æ* is kept for *æ*; it is common also in Kt.

415. Gmc *a* does not change to *æ* before nasals. Ep. always writes *a*: *gimang*, *ganot*, *hand*, *scamu*. Cp sometimes writes *a*, but generally *o*: *onga*, *hond*, *scomo*. VP writes *o* invariably. eNorth. generally and lNorth. always write *o*, *a* appearing only in the oldest texts. eWS writes *a* and *o* promiscuously, although the rarer words seem to favour *a*, the commoner *o*. lWS writes *a* only. Early and late Kt write *a* and *o* promiscuously. We may sum up by saying that the Anglian dialects favour *o*, the Southern *a*. The *a* before nasals was at first no doubt simply *j*, which was afterwards rounded, the nasality being gradually lost, giving *ɣ*—original Gmc *o*, as in *corn*, being *ɣ*—just as Gmc *j* became OE *ō* (458). It is possible that the fluctuation between *a* and *o* in the earlier period is purely graphic, *j* lying between *j* and *ɣ*, and therefore capable of being expressed either by *a* or *o*.

416. In unemphatic words, such as *on*, *jone*, *jonne*, the *o* is regularly preserved even in lWS, which also separates the unstrest *on-* in *onginnan* from the strest *an-* in *anginn*, eWS *ɔnginn*. In these unemphatic words the *ɔ* no doubt became *o*=*ɣ*, which in lMerc. sometimes becomes *u*, as in *ollung*=*ondleng*.

417. In lKt the *o* of *on* etc becomes *a*: *an*, *þane*, *þanne*, *anginnan*. So also the *-on* of inflections becomes *-an* in lKt, as in *wēran*=*wēron*, earlier *wērun*.

418. Unstrest Gmc *a* often becomes *o* under the influence of a lip cons. Regularly in *of* as a prp and unstrest prefix, contrasting with the strest *æf*- in *æfþunca* (364). *w* has the same influence in *erfe-word* (VP), *tō-word* (VP)=WS *ierfe-weard*, *tōweard*, WS *hlāford* from **hlāf-w(e)ard*, WS *Ōs-wold*, *b* in *Grīm-bold*, *p* in *herpōþ*=*hære-pæþ* 'troop-path'. This *o* is often weakened to *a* (cp § 417): *herpāþ*, *hlafard* (VP). The occasional eWS *was*=*wæs* seems to point to **wos*.

419. As the change of *a* to *ɪ* is carried out in Frisian—where however the *ɪ* is written *e*, as in VP and Kt—except before nasals, we may assume that Gmc *a* became *æ* everywhere in Anglo-Frisian, except when nasalized.

420. The apparently anomalous vowels in the preterites *arn*, *barn*, *bærst* and in *gærs* are explained by the *r*-shifting (510): the earlier forms of these words were **rann*, **brann*, **bræst*, *græs*, which last is still preserved in the oldest texts.

i

421. OE *i* is generally Gmc *i*, as in *witan*, *bindan*. Gmc *e* becomes *i* in OE before nasals, as in *niman*, OHG *neman*, OIcel. *nema*. As *ie* had the sound of *f* in WS (474), *i* must have had that of the narrow *f*.

e

422. Answers to Gmc *e*: *beran*, *nest*. As *ɛ* had the open sound (468), *e* probably had the close sound [i].

u

423. Answers to Gmc *u*, as in *sunu*, *gebunden*, and to Gmc *o* before nasals, as in *genumen*=OHG *ginoman*, *þunor*=OHG *donar* (cp § 421). Gmc *o* also becomes *u* in OE after or before a lip cons., as in *wulf*, *full*, *ufan*, *bucca*=OHG *wolf*, *vol*, *obana*, *bocch*. The analogy of *i* makes it probable that the OE *u* had the narrow sound [i].

424. *u* preceded by *w* is often the result of the influence of that cons. on a following *io* from *i* (431, 434), as in *wudu*=older *wiodu*, *widu*. So also in *wuduwe* (*widwe* VP), *wuce* 'week.' *wu-* from *weo-* is frequent in IWS: *swurd*, *swuster*=eWS *sweord*, *sweostor*.

o

425. Answers to Gmc *o*, as in *gecoren*, *gold*, *goul*. As *ɔ* had the open sound, *o* probably had the close sound }.

426. *o* preceded by *w* is often a later smoothing of *eo*, as in WS *woruld* from *weoruld* (VP), INorth. *sword* from *sweord*.

ea, eo

427. These diphthongs are mainly the result of parasiting (159). Gmc *e* before *r* + cons. becomes *eo*, sometimes written *io*: *steorra*, *eorþe*, *iorþe*=OSaxon *sterro*, *ertha*. The undiphthonged forms are still occasionally preserved in the oldest texts: *herth*, *smewi* in Ep., *Bernhard* in a very old Kt charter. Gmc *a* becomes *ea* under the same conditions: *earm*, *heard*=OSaxon *arm*, *hard*. In the oldest texts we sometimes find this *ea* written *eo*: *weorras*, *seorwum* (Cp), *Georored*, *Uulfheord* (LV). It seems probable, therefore, that the voice-glide between the vowel and the *r* developed into a full glide-*o* in both diphthongs. The later divergence is the result of the difference in the first element. In *eo*=[ɛ] the *o* was supported by the close *e*, while in **hæord* from AFrisian **hærd* it was first broadened to [ɔ] by the influence of the preceding [ɹ], and then unrounded, exactly as in the long *ēa* (459). It is probable that the first element of *ea* was always *æ*, *e* being written for convenience. Traces of the original AFrisian forms seem to be preserved in such spellings as *gefuuæ* in Ep., *Bernhaerd* in one of the oldest Kt charters, where we also find *hæard*.

428. In the Southern dialects Gmc *a* becomes *ea* before *l* + cons.: *feallan*, *eald*=OSaxon *fallan*, *ald*. AFrisian *æ* in *Ældred* (Kt charter), *wæll* (WS charter of 847). *e* generally remains unchanged before *l* + cons.: *swellan*, *helm*. For the apparent exceptions see § 433.

429. Gmc *a* becomes *ea* before *h*=c, that is, *h* not followed

by a vowel (502) in WS and Kt: *geseah*, *eahta*, *weax* ($x=hs$). The parallel *eo* from Gmc *e* is constant in WS in *seoh* imper., *feohtan*, but such forms as *reoht*, *cneoht* occur only sporadically in the earliest WS and Kt, which probably had *seox* 'six' also. Original *i* becomes *eo* (*io*) in the same way: *meox* 'dung' from Gmc **mihstu*, *Peohtas* 'Picts'.

430. Another source of *ea*, *eo* is the development of a front glide after the front cons *i*, *j* (535) in WS, where the *æe*-, *gæe*- (from Gmc *ka*-, *ga*-) of the other dialects appear as *cea*-, *gea*-, as in *ceaster*, *sceaft*, *geaf*=nonWS *cester* (VP), *scaeft* (Ep.), *gaef*. So also *jo*-, *ju*- (from Gmc *jo*-, *ju*-) become *geo*- in WS, as in *geoc*, *geong*, also written *gioc*, *giong*, *giung* in eWS. The other dialects write *geoc* (as in Du.), *gioc*, *ioc* (as in Ru.), *giung*, *gung*, *iung* (VP). The analogy of *gaef* makes it probable that the non-WS *ge*-, *gi*- mean the same thing as the simple *g* or *i*, nl *g*. The WS change of the *u* of *giung* into *o* shows, on the other hand, that in WS the glide after the *j* must have developed into a full vowel, capable of forming the first element of a diphthong, which at first must have had the stress on its second element, the stress being afterwards thrown back by the analogy of the other *eas* and *eos*. This applies also to *geaf*, which must have passed through the stages *gæf*, *gjæf*, *geæf*, *géæf*.

431. The next main source of these diphthongs is the influence of a following back vowel on AFrisian *æ* and on *i*, *e*, which is most consistently carried out in VP: *fet* (=fæt), pl *featu*, gen. pl *feata*, *fearan*, *scip*, pl *sceopu*, *nioman*, *beoru*, pl *beorað*, subj. pres. *ic bere*. These diphthongings are later than those which are due to cons. influence. Ep. still keeps the unmodified vowels in such words as *teru*, *gelu*, *stela* against the *teoru*, *geolu*, *steola* of the later Cp, *geolu* occurring only once in Ep. The development of the parasite-*ea* seems to have been quite parallel to that of the other *ea*, as shown in such spellings as *beosu* in Cp=the *besu* (=bæsu) of Ep. It is doubtful whether the influence of *a* is not really due to an older *o*: *beoran* from **beron*. This is probably the case with such words as *steola* at least, for such nominatives as *bogo*=later *boga* are preserved even in Cp.

432. In WS the *eo* in such words as *heorot*, *heofon* is generally preserved, but the simple vowel is often restored, especially in IWS, the alternation of *e-eo*, *i-io* (*eo*) in inflection being especially avoided, except in the earliest texts; hence *scip* generally has pl *scipu*, etc. The *ea* is generally eliminated altogether, except in a few words, in most of which, such as *nearu*, *fealu*, it may be really due to the inflected forms *nearwe*, *fealwe*, where it is parallel to the *ea* of *heard* etc. *ealu* (gen. *ealof*) probably owes its *ea* to the analogy of *nearu* etc. For *cearu* etc see § 535.

433. The diphthonging of *e* before *l* + cons. seems to be generally the result of the development of a parasite *u* (or *o*) between the *l* and the cons., which *u* then diphthonged the *e*. This is certainly the case with *heolstor* 'hiding-place' from Gmc **helstro*, for the intermediate forms *helostr*, *helustras* are preserved in Ep., and probably with *seolk* 'seal', and the Anglian *seolf* = eWS *self*. The development of *seolf* and *meolc* out of Gmc **silovra* and **miluk* is parallel, except that here the vowels after the *l* are original, not parasitic.

434. The diphthongings of *i* and *e* are regularly distinguished as *io* and *eo* resp. in Cp and the other early texts. Thus Cp has *tioludun*, *liofuwac*, *sionu*, *suiopan* on the one hand, and *weorod*, *beorende*, *feotur* on the other, = WS *tilledon*, *lipuwāc*, *sinu*, *swipan*; *werod*, *berende*, *fetor*. But *io* is written occasionally not only for the vowel-diphthonged *eo*, as in *scripu* (Cp) = WS *screpe*, but also for the consonant-diphthonged *eo*, as in *iorþan*, *wiorþ*, *Biorn-* (OET). Afterwards *eo* supplants *io* everywhere in WS. The form *hieora* = *hi(o)ra* occurs once in Or. and in a later Merc. charter, and is evidently the forerunner of the late *hyora* etc, which are apparently Kt. These spellings point to *f* as the first element of the vowel-diphthonged *io*.

435. The second element of *eo*, *io* is very rarely written *u*, as in *Triumuini* (BH), *Friuþuulf* (LV). More important is its weakening into *a*:

While WS has *eo*, *io* in *eom*, *hiora*, *heora* and other subordinate words, VP has *ea* in *eam*, *heara* and in *þeara* (from **þero*, Gmc **þizō*), to the exclusion of *eo*, except that *heora*

occurs twice. So also Du. has both *hiora* and *hiara*, while Ru. has only *hiora*, *heora*. Even in WS *eam* occurs once in Or., and *ea* is fixed in *eart*. The original relation no doubt was that these words had two forms, one emphatic (strong) with *eo*, the other unemphatic (weak) with *ea*, WS tending to generalize the strong, VP the weak forms. The first effect of want of stress was to diminish the rounding of the *o*, and then to unround it completely, as in the development of *ēa* (459). *ea* for *eo* in strong words is only a sporadic irregularity in VP, but in lNorth. it is very common, especially in the vowel-diphthongs: *weala*, *eata*=VP *weola*, *eotan*, WS *wela*, *etan*. The change of *weola* into *weala* is probably due to the analogy of *heora*: *heara* etc. Even WS has *feala* by the side of *fela*, older *fe(o)lu*, the first being perhaps originally a weak form of the two latter. The spelling *ia* for *io*, *eo* is specially eKt: *viaht*; *wiarald*, *fiah*.

436. The relation of *ea* to *a* is, to a great extent, parallel to that between *eo* and *ea*. In the eKt charters *heard* etc. is the regular form when the word is the first part of a compound name, *hard* when it is the second (unstressed) element: *Gudhard*, *Bernhard*. So also the occasional eWS *was* appears to be the unemphatic form of *wæs*—if it is not a weakening of **wos* (418). The *a* of *hard* cannot be anything but a modification of AFrisian **hærd*, and *Bernhærd* actually occurs in one of the eKt charters. The influence of the *r* on stressed *æ* was confined to the development of a parasitic *a* (or *ə*?) after it, while *r* was able to change unstressed *æ* completely into *a*. *a* for *ea* in stressed syllables appears sporadically in Cp: *bisparrade*, *sarwo*, and elsewhere, being especially common in eNorth.; thus CH has *barnum*, *uard*, but no *ea*. The later LV, on the other hand, has regularly *ea*. *a* for *ea* before *l*+cons. is common in eWS and eKt, and universal in Anglian, where it was probably long (395): *all*, *halm*, *ald*, *salt*=eWS, eKt (*e*)*all* etc. lWS has only *eall* etc, and in lKt *ea* is almost universal. The most probable explanation of the Anglian *hard*, *all* is that they are extensions of originally weak variations of *heard*, *eall*.

437. The relation of *ea* to *a* in vowel-diphthongings is analo-

gous to that in consonant-diphthongings. Just as VP has *heard* but *all*, so also it opposes an *a* in *galan*, *wyrtwalan* etc to the *ea* in *fearan* etc. So also Cp has *wægnfearu* (but weak *a* in *æxfaru*), *onseacan*, *geweada* pl, by the side of *hara*, *gelapade*, but only *scalu*, *stalu* pl. The other dialects all show *ea* in their early stages side by side with *a*, except that in Ep. there is no *ea* except in *sceaba* etc (535). But in the Kt charters we find such forms as *peabul*, *ic þeafie*, and in eNorth. *Eafa*, *Eafu*, *Eadu*. In WS we find (with a few doubtful exceptions, and after *sc* etc) only *a*: *fatu*, *fata*, *farán*, as also in lNorth.: *fara* etc.

438. The variations between *ea* and *a* (*æ*), *eo* and *e* hitherto considered are due to independent divergencies, but there are also cases of direct smoothing of *ea* and *eo* (cp the similar treatment of *ēa* and *ēo*, § 462, 465) due to the influence of a following *c* or *g*, and which may therefore be described as 'c-smoothings.' They form the most marked characteristics of the Anglian dialects. In VP and North. *ea* before *h*, *x*, *ht* becomes *æ* (which in VP=*ǣ*): *gesæh*, *wæxan*, *geþæht*. Cp also has *æ*, as in *wærit*, *læx*, against the *leax* of Ep., which, however, also has *æ* in *æx*, *æclath*. This *æ* of Ep. is probably the original AFrisian *æ*, which makes it possible that the Anglian *æ*=*ea* may be really original. *Æhcha* in a very early Kt charter is no doubt original; later Kt has *ea*, as in WS. *c*-smoothing can also be transmitted through a preceding vowel-like cons.: *ea* before *rc*, *rg* (*rh*) becomes *e* (= *e* or *æ*) in VP, *e* or *æ* in North.: *erc*, *ærc*, *berg*=WS *earc* 'ark', *bearg* 'hog'. Cp generally has *æ*, as in *spærca*, *mærh* 'horse', 'marrow', rarely *ea*, which is general in Ep., although Ep. too has *æ*, but only before *rh*: *færh*, *mærh*, but *meare*, *bearug*, which last is also the form in Cp.

439. *eo* becomes *e* in Anglian in the same way before *h* and *rc*, *rg*, *rh*: *feh*, *fehtan*, *werc*, *berg*, *berht*=WS *feoh*, *feohtan*, *weorc*, *beorg*, *beorht*. So also regularly not only in Cp, but also in Ep.: *þorgifect*, *uuerc*, *duerg*.

440. *c* and *g* also have an influence in preventing or smoothing vowel-diphthonging. In VP they generate a preceding *æ*: *dægās*, *dægum*, *cwæcian*. North. agrees with WS and Kt in having *a* in these forms: *dagas* etc. VP itself has occasionally *a*. Cp has *æ*, *a*, but generally *ea*, while Ep.

generally has *a*. VP fluctuates between *eoc*, *eog* and *ec*, *eg*: it always has *steogun*, and generally *spreocan*, while *wegas* is much commoner than *wegas*. North. agrees with WS: *sprecan*, *wegas*.

441. This *c*-smoothing is by the Germans called 'palatalumlaut'. The eNorth. *ærigfæra*=WS *earhfare*, might, indeed, be adduced in support of a front pronunciation, but the *bea rug*=*bea rg* of Ep. (438) points as conclusively the other way, and it seems most natural to suppose that **bæarg* became *bærg* by absorption of the back vowel *a* into the back-modified *r*, and so with the other words. The spellings *huerb* in Cp, and *acerf* in VP=*hweorf*, *aceorf* seem to point to a similar influence of *f*, which, of course, could only have rounded or backed, not fronted, a preceding cons.

442. The origin of *ea* and *eo*, as also of *ēa* and *ēo*, shows clearly that all the OE diphthongs must originally have had the stress on the first element, and there seems every reason to believe that in most of the dialects they kept it there throughout the OE period. There is, however, unmistakeable ME evidence of a shifting of stress (together, in the case of *ēa* and *ēo*, with a shifting of quantity) in unstressed syllables; Orm's *ʒho ɔʃ*=OE *hēo*, for instance, can only be explained from an OE *heō* through **hjo*. This law of stress-shift in weak diphthongs explains the INorth. *am*=*eom*: weak *eom* became first *eam* (435), then *eám*, and finally, by dropping the almost inaudible *e*, *am*. So also the *earþ* of VP=WS *earl* appears in Du. as *arþ*. In IWS we find the *eo* of *teoro* 'tar' as the second element of compounds passing through *ea* into *a*: *īfigtearo*, *-taran*. The same tendency to throw forward the stress in weak syllables is shown in the OIcel. shortening of *ero* 'they are' into *ro*, which, of course, presupposes **eró*, *þeir éro* becoming *þeir* (*e*)*ró* in order to avoid the immediate succession of two stresses.

443. In MKt there is clear evidence of stress-shifting in all the diphthongs, whether strong or weak. That this shifting had taken place already in the OE period is proved by the alliteration in the poetical Genesis (text B) and Exodus, which are certainly of Southern, and probably of specially Kt origin. In these poems we find such allitera-

tions as *junge*, *georne* on *calle*, pointing to a pronunciation *jorne*, *jalle*.

444. In OE *rinnan* and *brinnan* shift the *r* (510) and appear in eWS as *iernan*, *biernan*, lWS *yrnan*, *byrnan*, lKt *irnan*, *birnan*, but in Anglian (VP, Du., Ru.) they appear as *iornan* (*cornan*, *earnan*), *biornan* (*eo*, *ea*) by the analogy of the older *georn* etc. The *eo* in *eom* (for **im*) is no doubt due to the influence of the pl *eorun*. So also the late dat. pl *heom* for *him* is due to the influence of the gen. pl *heora*, the change being prompted by the desire to distinguish the pl *him* from the sg *him*.

ā

445. Answers to Gmc *ai*: *hlāf*, *slān*, *wāt* 'knows' = Goth. *hlaif*, *slain*, *vait*. The second element of the *ai* was evidently weakened to *e*, and then absorbed. The analogy of the development of Gmc *au* in OE (459) would lead us to expect **æi* as the OE equivalent of Gmc *ai*, and this diphthong seems to be preserved in *weilaweī* (Cotton ms of Boeth.) for the ordinary *wālāwā* 'alas' (Goth. *vai* 'woe'), elsewhere *wegla* 'euge' with *eg* = *ei* (553).

446. *ā* before *w* answers to Gmc *ā* (which otherwise remains in OE): *sāwon* 'they saw', *tāwian* 'prepare' = Goth. *sēhwun*, *tēwa* sb. Often also when a back vowel follows (cp *dæg*, *dagas* etc): *lāgon* (and *lāgon*) 'they lay' = Goth. *lēgun*, *lācnian* 'cure' = Gmc **lāknōn* (cp OE *lāce* 'physician' = Goth. *lēkeis*), *slāpan* (and *slāpan*) = Goth. *slēpan*.

447. In such words as *swā*, *þā* the *ā* answers to Gmc *a* (Goth. *swa*) in accordance with the general law by which all final stressed vowels are lengthened (383).

æ

448. WS *æ* corresponds regularly to Gmc *æ*, which is thus preserved unchanged: *fær* 'danger', *æfen*, *ræd* 'advice', *slāpan* = OSaxon *fār*, *āband*, *rād*, *slāpan*, Goth. *slēpan*.

449. In Kt and Anglian Gmc *æ* is represented by *ē*, thus Cp has *fer*, VP has *efen*, *slepan*. There are, however, a few examples of *æ* in the oldest texts: Ep. has *suæ* = Goth. *svē*, *hwær*, *næpl* = WS *nædl*, *blæed* = WS *blæd* 'blast', in all of

which cases Cp has *e*, although in a few other instances it also has *æ*. eNorth. has *suæ*, *gæ*=WS *gēa* (461), *þær*. The eKt charters have *swæ*, *þær*, *wæron*, *-ræd* (in proper names). It seems as if the original *æ* were kept when final and in proximity with *r*. VP has *e* everywhere. Ru. also generally has *e*, but *æ* is not unfrequent, especially before *r* and after *w*: *swæ*, *þær*, *hwær*, *rædan* are the regular forms, while in the verbal forms *wære*, *wæron* etc *e* is more frequent than *æ*. Du. has *suæ* and occasionally *wæron* etc, elsewhere *e*. VP has only *swe*, *þer* etc.

450. The Anglian *ē* is constant in WS in *mēce* 'sword', which, as it occurs only in poetry, may be borrowed from Anglian. The *-red* of *Alfred* is sometimes written *-ryd*, pointing to **-rid*=OHG *-rit* (frequent in proper names), which has nothing to do with *rēd*=Goth. *rēd*.

For the mutation-*æ* see § 481.

451. In Southern ME shortened *æ* is treated like OE *æ*, showing that it must (in WS at least) have had the same sound, only long—*ɹ̥*. Lengthened *æ* in WS, as in *sæde* from *sægde* (401), must, of course, have had the same sound. Lengthened *ɛ*=*ɹ̥* or *ɹ̥̃*, on the other hand, as in *lede* from *lēgde*, is never written *æ*.

i

452. Answers to Gmc *ī*: *wīn*, *stīgan*, *gelīc*. It is also the result of dropping Gmc *m* or *n* before a hiss or buzz (531), as in *fīf*, *sīþ* 'journey'=Goth. *fimf*, *sinþ*. This *ī* was, of course, nasalized at first.

ē

453. Was originally a somewhat rare sound in OE. In the non-WS dialects it appears mainly as the representative of Gmc *ē* (449), in WS (already in eWS) as an unrounding of *ē* (489).

454. The common OE *ē* answers to Gmc *ē* in *hēr*. In *mēd* from Gmc **mezdō* (Goth. *mizdō*), and also in the originally reduplicated preterites such as *slēp*=Goth. *saislēp*, it is probably the result of contraction.

ū

455. Answers to Gmc ū: *hūs*, *hlūd*, *ūt*.

456. It is also the result of dropping a Gmc nasal before a hiss, as in *cūþ*, *ūs*=Goth. *kunþ*, *uns*.

457. In such monosyllables as *þū*, *nū* it is the result of lengthening Gmc *u*.

ō

458. Answers to Gmc ō, as in *dō*, *dōm*, *mōder*. Also to Gmc *ā* before nasals: *mōna*, *mōnaþ*, *cwōmon* 'they came'=Goth. *mēna*, *mēnōþ*, *qēmūn*, and to Gmc nasalized *ā*: *þōhte*, *hōn*, *fōn* (cp the ptcc *hangen*, *fangen*). *ō* is further the result of the dropping of Gmc *n* or *m* before a hiss, as in *ōþer*, *gōs*=Goth. *aunþar*, *gans*, where we must assume the stages *ʒʒ*, *ʒʷ*, *ʒʰ*, *ʒʰ*. The *ā* of Gmc **māno* passed in OE through the stages *ʒʷ*, *ʒʷ*, *ʒʷ*, running together with the vowel of Gmc *þāhta* in its second stage.

ēa

459. Answers to Gmc *au*, as in *dēaþ*, *hēaforð*=Goth. *daunþus*, *haunþiþ*. In the oldest texts it is occasionally written *æo*, *eo*, *æa*, as in *genæot* (Cp), *eorisc* (Ep.), *Æodbold*, *Æanfled* (BH), showing that the *a* of Gmc *au* became *æ*, in accordance with the general tendency of the language, the second element being opened, and finally unrounded. It is probable that the first element remained *æ* throughout the OE period; eKt, which often writes *ia* for *ēo*, never uses it to express *ēa*.

460. Sometimes *ēa* is the result of contraction, as in *ēa* from **ahwō* (Goth. *ahva*) 'water' through **æ(h)wcu*, **æwucu*, *slēan* from **slæhan* (Goth. *slahan*).

461. *ēa* in WS also results from the combination *ē* and *ǵ*+Gmc *ā* in the same way as *gæf* become *geaf* (430): *scēap*, *gēafon* 'they gave', *gēar*=OSaxon *scāp*, Goth. *gēbun*, *jēr*. The other dialects keep their *ē*=Gmc *ā* (449): *scep*, *gefon*, *ger*. *gear*, however, occurs once in eNorth.

462. In Anglian *ēa* is smoothed before *c*, *g* and *h* in the same way as *ea* (438). In the earlier texts the resulting vowel is written *æ*. Thus Cp has *onlæc*, *bæg*, *hæh*, with occasional *geac* etc. So also in eNorth., and in the earlier Kt and Merc. charters. VP and lNorth. have *e*: *ec*, *belec*, *eye*, *beg*, *heh*, *neh*.

50

463. Answers to Gmc *eu*, as in *cēosan*, *lēof*, *sēoc*, *dēop* = Goth. *kiusan* etc. Sometimes it is the result of contraction: *sēon* from **sehwan* (Goth. *saihvan*), *þēon* 'flourish' from **þīhan* (*þiendi* in Cp). For *ēo* in *gēomor* see § 543.

464. The original *eu* appears occasionally in the oldest texts: *treuteru*, *steupfædær* (Ep.), *streum*, *greut* (eNorth.).

Other early spellings are *iū*, as in *gliu*, *snīuuiþ* (Ep.), *flīsum* (eNorth.), *ia*, as in *biap* pl (Cp, eNorth.), *tiadæ* prt (eNorth.). This last spelling occurs occasionally in VP, as in *biap* pl, *gesiap* pl, and is common in eKt: *bīan* vb, *friand*, *beliade*. *ie* is occasional in VP: *gesie* vb, *fīend*, *þieda*. The spelling *io* is frequent from the earliest period downward. Thus Ep. has *liouuyrt*, *hriosisþ*, *criopung* by the side of *streo*, *hceol*, *beost*. *io* also occurs occasionally in VP and in eWS, but afterwards *eo* becomes general in WS. *ea* occurs occasionally in the oldest texts, as in *trea*, *weadhōc* (Ep.), also in VP, as in *lea*, *gesean*, *þead*, and is frequent in lNorth.

465. In Anglian *ēo* is smoothed into *ē* before *c*, *g* and *h*. Thus Cp has *theġh* = *þēh* (WS *þēoh*), and VP has *flegan*, *gesēh* imper. This *ē* sometimes becomes *ī*, as in *tuigendi* (Cp) = WS *twēogende* 'doubting', *gefrigan* 'free', *fligan* (VP).

466. That the difference between *ea*, *eo* and *ēa*, *ēo* was one of quantity is proved beyond doubt by the accents, the metre, and the whole history of the language. It is certain that the stress was not originally on the second element, for Gmc *au* and *eu* were certainly accented *áu*, *éu*. The length must have been either on the first element, or else distributed over both. The former seems most probable. The lengthening probably began by an exaggeration of the glide between the two elements. Similar lengthenings occur in the OHG of Notker's texts, which write *īe*, *īa*, *īo*, *īo* against *iū*, *éo*, *óu*, *éu*, the circumflex indicating a long accented vowel, the acute a short accented vowel.

Mutations.

467. The OE mutations are all caused by Gmc *i* or *j*, which

even in parent Gmc had probably begun to modify a preceding consonant (142), the influence of the resulting fronted cons. on the preceding vowels being, however, carried out independently in the separate languages. In OE the Gmc *i, j* has often been lost, as in *bend, sendan* = Goth. *bandi, sandjan*. It must be borne in mind that *-e* and *-ian* in OE cause mutation only when they correspond to old *-i, -jan*, as in *bend, nērian* = Goth. *nasjan*, not when they are modifications of *a* etc, as in WS *giefen* ptc = Anglian *gefen* (Goth. *giban*), *sealfian* = OHG *salbōn*.

e

468. is the mutation of Gmc *a*, as in *herede* 'praised,' *tellan, sendan, weccan, settan* = Goth. *hazida, taljan, sandjan, vakjan, satjan*. As this mutation probably passed through the stage of *ɪ* before it settled down to *ɪ* (or *ʃ*?), there was a tendency to confuse *ɛ* with *æ*. The following words, for instance, have *æ* instead of *ɛ*: *bærnan, hærfest, læccan, gemæcca* = Goth. *brannjan* etc. *ɛ* itself is often written *æ* in the early texts.

ie

469. appears as the mutation of OE *ea* and *eo* (through *iē*, and *iy, iē*?), that is, of Gmc *a* and *e* before certain consonant-combinations (427): *ierfe* 'inheritance' = Goth. *arbi, ieldra*, compar. of *eald, nieht*, from **neahiti*, Goth. *naht(i)*; *wierpe* 'worthy,' *hierde* '(shep)herd' (cp *weorþ* 'worth,' *heord* 'herd'). If these words were formed by direct mutation from the Gmc forms, they would appear as *erfe, eldra; wirpe, hirde*, the mutation in the two latter being indeed already Gmc (299). The first two are, in fact, the forms that appear in all the non-WS dialects, except that VP has *æ* (= *ē*) instead of *e* before *l*-combinations: *wælle* 'well,' *mæltan, ældra*. VP has the Gmc *i* in *afirran* 'remove' (*feorr* 'far'), *birhtu, hirtan* 'cherish' (*heorte* 'heart'), but in other words it, in common with the other non-WS dialects shows the unmutated *eo*: *corre* 'angry' = WS *ierre, heorde* = WS *hierde*. The *eo* in these cases seems to be due to the analogy of such words as the adv *eorre* and the subst. *heord*, where the *eo* is regular. *heorde* occurs also in Cp together with *orfeornnisse* (cp *feorm*); *Iurminburg, hiordi* in eNorth. eNorth. also has *wiurpū* from *weorþan*. In most

cases Cp agrees with Ep. in showing Gmc *i*, as in *geuirbet*, *birce*, *firgen*. Ep. itself has the WS *ie* in *georwierdid*, *orfiermæ*.

470. There is another WS *ie*, which results, not from mutation, but from the combination *ce-*, *ge-* (534, 541), as in *sciold*, *giefan*, where VP and the other non-WS texts have the original *e*: *sceld*, *gefan*.

471. WS also shows *ie* for *ɛ* after *c* and *g*, as in *ciele* 'chill,' *scieppan*, *giest*=non-WS *cɛle*, *scɛppan*, *gest*. The analogy of *ciese* (483) shows that the *ie* in these words is not due to the direct action of the front cons. on the vowel, as in the case of *sciold* etc, but that the *ie* is a mutation of prehistoric *ea*, itself the result of diphthonging *æ* after a front cons. (535), so that *ciele* has developed out of **cæli*, **cæli*, **kæli*, **kali* (cp the strong vb *calan*). Hence there is no development of *ie* before *ɛ* followed by a nasal, as in *cennan*, *cempa* from **kannjan*, **konnjan* **kampjo*, **kompjo*, because Gmc *a*+nasal was not fronted in AFrisian and OE (415, 419), and so did not front a preceding back cons.

472. WS also has *ɛ* instead of *ie* before *ll* from Gmc *lj*, as in *hɛll*=Goth. *halja*, *tɛllan*=*taljan*. WS has *ie* regularly before Gmc *llj*, as in *fiellan* from *falljan*, *wielle* from **wallja*. IWS *syllan*=Goth. *saljan* points to the WGmc doubling (325) which we would expect in *halja* etc; eWS, however, agrees with Kt and Anglian in the form *sellan*.

473. In WS front *h* before *s* and *t* mutates *eo* into *ie*, as in *siew* 'six'= *seox*, Angl. *sex*, *cnieht*=*cnioht*, Angl. *cneht*. The *eo* of *feohtan* was probably preserved by the analogy of the other verbs in *eo* (*weorhan* etc) of the same conjugation.

474. *ie* was no doubt a diphthong at first, but in the extant WS texts it must have become a monophthong, for it is often written simply *i*, sometimes *y*, which becomes general in IWS: *ierfe*, *irfe*, *yrfe*. The spelling *erfe* is rare in WS mss, and may be due to non-WS scribes. The change from the spelling *ie* to *y* is direct, without any intermediate *i*-period. The evidence of ME shows that this *y* had the same sound as the *y* in *synn*=f. The most probable explanation seems to be that *ie* was first smoothed to wide f, which was then rounded to f, in order to make it more distinct from the older *i*=f.

y

475. is the mutation of Gmc *u*: *fyllan*, *synn* = Goth. *fulljan*, OSaxon *sundia*, *gylden* = OSaxon *guldin*.

For IWS *y* = *ie* see 474.

476. In IWS *y* becomes *i* before (front-modified) *c*, *g*, *h*, as in *cicene*, *hricg*, *fliht* = earlier *cycene* 'kitchen,' *hrycg*, *flyht*. In some late mss (not in Æfch) *ci-* for *cy-* is common, and *cining* occurs in Du., *ki(ni)ng* in Ru. together with the regular *cynig*.

477. In the western IWS *i* in weak syllables becomes *y*, probably through *f*, as in *ys*, *hyne*, *hyt*. These forms are confirmed by ME West-Midland texts, which show such spellings as *hus* 'his,' *þuse* 'these,' where *u* = *f* (595).

478. In Ikt *y* becomes *e*, as in *senn*, *gelden*. The same change occurs in the IWS (Æfch) *embe* for *ymbe*, and *unnetlic* = *unnytlic* occurs once in eWS together with a few instances of *embe*. The change seems, therefore, to have begun in weak syllables, whence in Ikt it spread to strong words. *f* was no doubt lowered to *f*, which underwent the same unrounding as *æ* (479). Hence *y* in Ikt is occasionally written for *e*, as in *cyrran* = *cerran*, WS *cierran*. The change of *y* into *e* is shown also in the Suffolk charters of the end of the 10th cent.: it was probably a general South-eastern change.

œ

479. is the mutation of *o*, as in *æle* 'oil' = Gmc **olja* from Lat. *oleum*, *dæhter* dat. of *dohtor*. As *o* became *u* before *i*, *j* in Gmc (300), the regular mutation of Gmc *o* is *y*, as in *gylden* (Gmc **gulþina*; **golþa* = OE *gold*); *æ* is the result of the mutation of a foreign *o* (as in *æle*) or of the substitution of *o* for *u* before the mutation began by the analogy of some other form, such as (in the case of *dæhter*) the nom.

480. *æ* = *f* was unrounded to *e* [not only in eWS (which preserves only isolated instances of *æ*) but also in VP, which has *ele*, *bledsian* (where the *æ* was shortened from *ǣ*) throughout, the long *ǣ* being always kept in VP.

ǣ

481. is the mutation of *ā* = Gmc *ai* in all the dialects: *hælan*, *ǣnig* (*hāl*, *ān* = Goth. *hail*, *ain*).

482. In WS it is also the mutation of Gmc \bar{a} : $\bar{l}\bar{e}ce$, $\bar{d}\bar{e}d$ = Goth. $\bar{l}\bar{e}keis$, $\bar{d}\bar{e}d(i)$. In the non-WS dialects this \bar{a} follows its original, becoming \bar{e} : $\bar{l}\bar{e}ce$, $\bar{d}\bar{e}d$.

ie

483. is the eWS mutation of $\bar{e}a$ (Gmc au) and $\bar{e}o$ (Gmc eu): $\bar{h}ieran$ = Goth. $\bar{h}ausjan$, $\bar{g}el\bar{i}efan$ = Goth. $\bar{g}alauþjan$ (cp $\bar{g}el\bar{e}afa$ sb); $\bar{c}iest$ 'chooses' (inf. $\bar{c}\bar{e}osan$), $\bar{o}nsien$, $\bar{g}es\bar{i}ene$ = Goth. $\bar{a}nasium(i)$ 'visible.' $\bar{c}iese$ from Gmc $*k\bar{e}sia$ (OHG $k\bar{a}si$) points to an intermediate OE $*c\bar{e}asi$ (535). In the other dialects this $\bar{i}e$ appears as \bar{e} : $\bar{h}\bar{e}ran$, $\bar{g}es\bar{e}ne$, $\bar{c}\bar{e}se$ etc. Ep., however, has $\bar{u}nhieri$ once, Cp $\bar{a}lieset$ once, and $\bar{o}nsien$ is the regular spelling in VP, the other words having only \bar{e} in VP. In many words $\bar{e}o$ is retained unmutated in VP and the other non-WS dialects, as in $\bar{s}t\bar{e}oran$, $\bar{g}etr\bar{e}owe$ = WS $\bar{s}t\bar{i}eran$, $\bar{g}etr\bar{i}ewe$ (cp 469).

484. $\bar{i}e$ is also written \bar{i} in eWS, and rarely e . In lWS it becomes \bar{y} : $\bar{h}\bar{y}ran$, $\bar{o}ns\bar{y}n$, $\bar{c}\bar{y}se$.

485. That $\bar{i}e$ must once have been a diphthong in WS is clear from the originally dissyllabic $\bar{h}\bar{i}e$ 'they,' $\bar{s}\bar{i}e$ subj., lWS $\bar{h}\bar{y}$, $\bar{s}\bar{y}$.

y

486. is the mutation of \bar{u} : $\bar{b}r\bar{y}d$ = Goth. $\bar{b}r\bar{u}þ(i)$, $\bar{c}\bar{y}þan$ 'proclaim' = Goth. $\bar{k}unþjan$ through $*c\bar{u}þjan$, $\bar{o}nt\bar{y}nan$ 'open' ($\bar{t}\bar{u}n$ 'enclosure').

For lWS $\bar{y} = \bar{i}e$ see § 484. Before and, in some texts, after c and g it, as also original \bar{y} , becomes \bar{i} (cp 476) in lWS: $\bar{i}can$, $\bar{b}\bar{i}gan$; $\bar{c}\bar{i}þan$ = eWS $\bar{i}ecan$, $\bar{b}\bar{i}egan$; $\bar{c}\bar{y}þan$.

487. In lKt \bar{y} is lowered and unrounded to \bar{e} : $\bar{o}nt\bar{e}nan$ etc. Hence y is sometimes written for \bar{e} , \bar{a} , as in $\bar{ly}ce$, $\bar{ly}ssa$ = $\bar{l}\bar{e}ce$ (WS $\bar{l}\bar{e}ce$), $\bar{l}\bar{e}ssa$.

ō

488. is the mutation of \bar{o} : $\bar{d}\bar{e}man$ = Goth. $\bar{d}\bar{o}mjan$, $\bar{s}\bar{e}can$ = Goth. $\bar{s}\bar{o}kjan$, $\bar{g}\bar{e}s$ (from $*gansi$) pl of $\bar{g}\bar{o}s$.

489. In lWS and lKt \bar{a} is unrounded into \bar{e} , a change which is already carried out almost completely in eWS as well: $\bar{d}\bar{e}man$, $\bar{s}\bar{e}can$, $\bar{g}\bar{e}s$.

Weak Vowels.

490. In OE unstress vowels were regularly shortened, as

in *tungena* = Goth. *tuggōnō*. Unstressed *i* and *æ*, which still occur in Ep., were afterwards levelled under *e* (= [?]), as in *ende*, *tunge*. Unstressed *u* and *o* often interchange, as in *mēnigū*, *mēnigo*.

491. Such spellings as *sægdig* for *sægde ic* in Du. show that final vowels were dropt before another vowel in connected speech, at any rate in closely connected groups.

492. Prehistoric OE *i* and *u* (answering both to Gmc *i*, *u* and Gmc *ī*, *ō*) were generally kept (in the later language as *e*, *u*, *o*) after short root-syllables, as in *wine*, *sunu*, dropt after long root-syllables, as in *wyrm*, *fōt* = Goth. *vaurm(i)*, *fōtu*. So also *bæp* has pl *bapū*, while *hūs* is invariable. If the long syllable before an *u* is half-stressed or weak, the *u* is often kept, as in *fiscflōdu* compared with the simple *flōd*, fem. and neut. *mēnniscu* 'human.'

493. Dropping of medial vowels is frequent, depending partly on the character of the adjacent cons., and especially on the quantity of the preceding syllable, every unstressed vowel in a medial syllable followed by a single cons. being dropt after a long root-syllable, as in *mōdrum*, *engles* compared with *fæderum*, *stapolas*. The dropt vowels are often restored in IWS, as in *ōþeres* = eWS *ōþres*.

The development of parasite-diphthongs has already been treated of (433).

494. One result of the general dropping of final Gmc *a*, and the frequent dropping of Gmc *i* and *u* (492) in OE as in the other Gmc languages was that many words ended in syllabic vowel-likes preceded by another cons., as in Goth. and OIcel. *akr*, *fugl*, Goth. *taikn* from **akra*, **fugla*, **taikna*. In OE syllabic *n* and *m*, and *l* after forward cons. are generally kept unchanged, as in *tāc(e)n*, *wæstm*, *nēdl*, *hūsl*, while syllabic *l* after other cons. and syllabic *r* after all cons. develop a parasite vowel—*u* (later *o*) after a back, *e* after a front vowel in the root-syllable: *fugol*, *ātur* (*āttor*); *æppel*, *winter* = Goth. *vintru*. Ep. still preserves *atr* = OIcel. *itr* etc.

495. The insertion of an *i* between *ġ* = *o* and a preceding cons. is regular in *byriġ* for the rarer *byrg*, and occasional in other words, such as *fylġian* 'follow.' *u*, *o* is sometimes inserted between *r*, *l* and a following cons., as in *burug* for *burg*, *helustr* (433).

Consonants.

496. The following was the normal OE consonant-system:

INITIAL	BACK	FRONT	FRIC.	LIP.
h	h	h	hr	þ, s
—	—	—	hl	—
—	c	ċ	t	p
—	—	—	hn	—
<hr/>				
—	g	ġ	r	þ, s
—	—	(l)	l	—
—	g	ġ	d	b
—	n(g)	(n)	n	m
<hr/>				
ŕ	c	o	u	u, s
—	—	—	ω	—
—	a	ɑ	o	o
—	—	—	ɣ	—
<hr/>				
—	e	o	u	u, s
—	—	(œ)	ω	—
—	a	æ	o	o
—	ɛ	(ɛ)	ɣ	—

(Observe the ambiguousness of

h = r, c, o.

c = a, ɑ.

g = e, o, æ, œ.

n = ɛ, ɣ.

þ, s, f = u, s, >; w, s, >.

Note also that r, l, s, n probably had a front or front-modified sound before ċ and ġ.

h.

497. In OE, as in the other Gmc languages, *h* was weakened to a mere breath initially. This is proved by the occasional omission or addition of an initial *h*, which

occurs throughout the OE period. Already in Ep. we find *æsil* as well as *hæsil*, *hynnilec* = the correct *ynnilec* of Cp. So also in *gihiodum* = *geōdon*, where it is practically initial.

498. Medial *h* before a vowel (especially between vowels) was not only weakened to a breath, but completely dropped, the resulting hiatus being generally got rid of by contraction. Ep. still preserves the *h* in such forms as *suehoras* = WS *sweōras* 'fathers-in-law,' *furhum* = WS *fūrum*, dat. pl of *furh* 'furrow.'

499. Medial *h* is also dropped before the vowellikes *r*, *l*, *n*, *m*, *w*, as in *nēalæcan* 'approach' = **nēahlæcan*, *āwer* = *ā-hwēr*, which latter form is, indeed, often restored (as in other words as well) by the analogy of the uncompounded *hwēr* etc.

500. The dropping of *h* in *āhwēr* etc is really part of a more general law by which the breath-*h* was regularly dropt in unstress syllables. This is clearly shown in proper names, such spellings as *Ælfere*, *Eadelm* for *Ælfhere*, *Eadhelm* being not unfrequent even in early texts. The history of the pronoun *it* in ME (724) makes it tolerably certain that OE must have had the same distinction as MnE between strong *hit*, *him*, *heora* and unemphatic **it*, **im*, *eora*. *eora*, indeed, occurs several times in Ru.

501. Initial *h* before a (vowellike) cons. in the combinations *hr*, *hl*, *hw*, *hn*, as in *hring*, *hlāf*, *hwæt*, *hnutu*, must in Gmc have had its regular sound *c*, for not only does the *h* of *hlāf* etc (Goth. *hlaif*) answer to an Ar. *k* (Lith. *klėpas*), but the Gmc **hlaiva* itself was adopted by OBulg. in the form of *chlėbŭ* *coſ[est]*. The next stage was the reduction of the *h* to a breath. This stage, in which *h* and *l* etc were pronounced separately, is preserved in the laws of alliteration, by which *hl* alliterates on the *h* of *hām* etc, and also in the shifting *hors* from **hross* (510). In MnE these combinations were merged in simple *r* etc, except that *wh* still partially survives as a voiceless *w*. It is quite possible that the OE *hr*, *hl*, *hw*, *hn* were really simple *o*, *ɔ*, *ɔ*, *ɔ*, for the alliterative usage may well be only traditional. This is supported by the spelling *rhing* in Ep., although the *rh* may be due simply to the analogy of Latin spellings such as *rhetor*.

502. *h* kept its Gmc sound when final, when doubled, and before cons. in the combinations *x* (= *hs*), *ht*, as in *feoh* (gen. *fēos* from **feohes*), *feorh* (gen. *fēores*), *furh* (dat. pl *fūrum*); *hliehhan*; *oxa*=Goth. *auhsa*, *beorht*. In the oldest texts *h*=*c* is generally written *ch* (except in *x*): thus Ep. has *toch*, *porch*, *torcht*=WS *tōh*, *þurh*, *torht* 'bright.' *hh* is also represented by *chh*, *hch*. *ch* is sometimes abbreviated to *c*: thus we find *alefripu* in a Runic inscription, and *halc*=WS *healh* (sinus, 'hale') in BH twice. In the combination *-ct* the dropping of the *h* is more frequent than its retention: thus Ep. writes *nectigalæ*, *torctendi*. One Runic text has *unneg*, *fegtaþ*=WS *unnēah*, *feoktaþ* parallel to *bt*=*ft* (515). Cp has *slag*, *slagħ*, *misþagch*=*slāh*, *misþāh*. These last spellings are compromises between *h* and *g*=*ε*.

503. These usages are no doubt mainly the result of Celtic influence. In OIrish and OWelsh *h* had no independent value, being mainly used to fill a hiatus or mark emphasis, and in OWelsh *c* was often written instead of *ch*. Hence the eOE prefixing of *h*, its use as a hiatus-filler (as in *gihiodun*), the hesitation to employ *h* to represent *c*, and the shortening of *ch* to *c*. The later use of *h* everywhere may be due to the same Runic influence which superseded *th* by *þ*, and *uu* by *p*.

504. In WS and Kt, when *h* comes before a hiss or buzz (*þ* or *s*) by the dropping of a vowel, it is preserved in the form of *c* or *o*, as in WS (*ge*)*sichst*, *siehþ* from **sihwis*, **sihwiþ*, *nīchst*, but dropped in the Anglian dialects: thus VP has *gesīs*, *gesīþ*, *nēst*.

505. In *ht* the *h* must have had the front sound *o* in WS, for it mutates a preceding *ea*, *eo* to *ie*, as in *nieht*, *cniicht*=*neahht*, *cneohht*, which occur occasionally in eWS.

r, l.

506. The OE *r* was no doubt a strong point trill as in the present Scotch dialect.

507. The parasiting influence of *r* and *l* (427) shows that they were probably formed as in MnE—with concavity of the fore part of the tongue—which gives them a kind of guttural

quality favorable to the development of a back parasite-vowel, which, if uttered muffled—with imperfect lip-opening—is easily rounded. *r* and *l* cannot have been full back, or even back-modified, consss.—*es*, *s* or *ω*, *ω*—because in that case single *r* and *l* would have diphthonged a preceding vowel, instead of requiring to be doubled, or to have the support of a following cons., the effect of which probably was to lengthen the *r* or *l* and so increase its volume of sound.

508. Before *ē* and *ġ*, *r* and *l* probably had a front-modified sound, as in *wyrċan*, *swelċ*.

509. *r* and *l* answer to the Gmc *r* and *l* resp. But *r* is also the representative of Gmc *z*, as in *gecoren* from Gmc **kozandā*, *hġrian*=Goth. *hazjan* 'praise,' *mierran* 'hinder'=Goth. *marzjan*, *hord*=Goth. *huzd* (145, 315). Final Gmc *z* is dropped in OE; *hwā*, *mā* 'more' adv from Gmc **hwaz*, **maiz*.

510. *r* is often shifted from before to after a vowel, when this vowel was followed by *nn* or *s*+cons. (that is, by breath *s*), as in *burna*, *hors*, *berstan*=Goth. *brunna*, OSaxon *hross*, OHG *brestan*. The original double consss. are still preserved in the spellings *burnna*, *horssum* (OET). There is shifting before simple *s* in *ġærs*. That these shiftings are comparatively late is shown by the frequent occurrence of the unshifted forms in the oldest texts: *græs*, *rendegn*=WS *ġærs*, *ærnġegn*. The shiftings *birdas*, *ġirda*=WS *bridd(as)*, *ġrida* are lNorth.

511. There are some shiftings which, in the earlier period at least, occur only in unstress syllables, especially the second half of proper names. The earliest is the change of *-firþ* into *-firþ*, *-ferþ*, *Tidfirþ* occurring in an inscription. Then follows the reverse shifting by which *-be(o)rht* becomes *-breht*, *Ceolbreht* appearing in a WS charter of 778. Afterwards *-breht* passes through *-*brieht* (505) into *bryht* in WS. In the lNorth. *breht* by the side of *berht* we see the shift carried out in the isolated, stress word as well. lNorth. has a similar shifting in *frohtia*, *fryhtu* by the side of the older *forhtia*, *fyrhtu*.

512. Shifting of *l* occurs in unstress syllables. Regularly in the ending *-isl*, still preserved in the *gyrdisl* of Ep., later *gyrdels*, and in *-ġisl* (=strong *ġisl* 'hostage') as the second element of proper names, as in *CyNEGILS*=*CyNEGISL*, which also occurs.

513. The dropping of *r* in *specan*, *spæc*=*sprecan*, *spræc* is 1WS and 1Kt.

þ, s, f.

514. These cons. were probably formed exactly as in MnE. It is, however, quite uncertain when *f* changed from Gmc *ƿ* to the present *s*.

515. OE *þ* and *s* always correspond to Gmc *þ* and *s*, for Gmc *ð* and *z* became *d* and *r* in OE (315). OE *f*, on the other hand, corresponds both to Gmc *f* and Gmc *v*, which latter first became WGmc *b*, and then *ə* (*ɤ*) again in OE. To the first *f* corresponds an OHG *f*, *v*, to the second an OHG *b* (326): *wulf*=OHG *wolf* (Gmc **wólfa*), *hafen* ptc=OHG *haban* (Gmc **havaná*). In the oldest texts the symbol *f* is restricted to the former *f*: *girāfa* (OHG *grāvo*) *wulf*, the latter being denoted by *b*, as in *scribun*, *salb* (OHG *scribun*, *salba*). It is clear that this *b* denotes an open cons., for *u* is written in *siuida* (Ēp.)=*sifipan* 'siftings' in Cp, and in Cp we find *bt=ft* in *lybt*. The use of medial *b* to denote a *v*-sound is probably due to the popular Latin of Britain, in which the medial *b* of such a word as *habere* had this open sound. We have direct proof of such an open pronunciation of Latin *d* in the spellings *Leoniþa*, *Marþonius* etc, which are the regular ones in Or. The later general use of *f* is due to the influence of the Runic alphabet; perhaps also to the Celtic use of *f*=*ə*, as in OIrish and in MnWelsh.

516. *þ* is generally denoted by the Latin *th* in the oldest mss, especially initially and finally, which *th* is sometimes abbreviated to *t* (cp 502): thus Ep. has *thegn*, *lotha*, *lath*, *earbetlic* (=WS *earfoplic*). Medial *þ* is often denoted by *d*, which also occurs finally, and even initially: thus Ep. writes *sceadan*, *giroedro*, *ueuard*, *gidopta*, *dislum*=WS *sceapan*, *gerēþra*, *wearþ*, *geþofta*, *þislum*. The Runic *þ* is rare in Ep.: *þus*, *suiþæ*, *milciþ*, as also *ð*: *ðinga*, *quiða*, *mið*. Ep. has once *dh* in *fordh*. The blendings *þh* (*snaphe* OET) and *ðh* (*ðhuehl* Cp) also occur. In the later Anglian texts *ð* is universal, as also in most of the oldest WS and Kt mss. In some eWS mss *þ*, however, predominates. In 1WS there is a tendency

to write *þ* at the beginning of a word or letter-group, *ð* elsewhere. The distinction was no doubt purely graphic, *þ* having the character of a capital and therefore being a good initial.

517. Gmc *þ* becomes *ld* in OE, the older forms being still preserved in the earliest texts: thus Ep. has *halði*, *scythalt*, (*t=th*) as well as *tohalt*, Cp has *feltha*, early Merc. charters have *-balt* (where *t=th*).

518. That *s* between voiced sounds was voiced in prehistoric OE is proved by such contracted preterites as *liesde*=Goth. *lausida* compared with *cyste*=**cysste* from *cyssan*, for if the *s* of *liesan* had been voiceless it would have changed the *d* of the ending into *t* in the same way as *ss* does.

519. *s* is often shifted in the medial and final groups *sc* and *sp*, especially in IWS, the shifting having apparently begun medially: *ācsian*, *ārian*, *cirps*=older *āscian*, **crisp*.

520. We see that there is decisive evidence that intervocalic *þ* and *s* were voiced in OE. In Gm. and Dutch we have clear evidence that initial *þ* was also voiced in such a word as *ding*=OE *þing*. In Dutch initial *s* is also voiced, as in *seven*=OE *seofon*, and this has been adopted by the High German of the North—the Upper Gm dialects still keeping voiceless *s* everywhere—medially as well as initially. OHG had initial *v*, as in *volk*; and this *v* is still preserved in Dutch, while it has been unvoiced in Gm, which, however, still keeps the old spelling. The evidence of ME and of the MnE dialects shows that in the 12th cent. initial *ð*, *z*, *v* must have been fully developed. It seems therefore plausible to assume that the Gmc *þ* and *f* were voiced initially as well as medially in WGmc and, that the initial voice of HGm *ding* and its predecessor *ðing* (which must be at least as old as the 7th cent.), together with that of the corresponding Dutch and Southern E. forms, are not independent developments, but remains of a common stage, *s* following the analogy of the other hisses in Low Gm and Southern E.

521. In Gothic, on the other hand, it is certain that the *þ* and *f* were voiceless in all positions—intervocalic as in *qifan*, as well as initial and final, as in *þiup*—for intervocalic *w* and *ə*

were expressed by *d* and *b*, as in *naubaimbair*=Lt *november*. In the Scandinavian languages *þ* and *f* are breathed initially, voiced medially and finally, as in MnIcel. *þing*, *kveða*, *verð*; *fara*, *hafa*, *haf*, *s* remaining unvoiced everywhere. The probability is, therefore, that initial hiss-voicing has never taken place in East-Gmc (except in Sw-Dan. *det* etc, where it is due to want of stress, as in E. *the* etc). It is further possible that the Anglian and Jutish (Kentish) dialects of OE, which were geographically closer to the Scandinavian languages than the Saxon group, may never have developed the initial hiss-voicing of the latter. The evidence of *f* and *b* in Ep. would, indeed, prove that even medial hiss-voicing, so far from being common WGmc, was of comparatively late date in OE. But the whole evidence bearing on *þ* is entirely the other way, showing that voiced *þ* was fully established in Ep., not only medially, but probably also initially. This conflict of evidence makes it possible that the distinction between *f* and *b* was really meant to express that of *ð* and *æ*. Cp also *bb* from *ff* (557).

522. Final *þ* and *f* are always voiceless in Gm and Dutch, but this is merely the result of their general tendency to unvoice all final conss. except the vowellikes. In the Scandinavian languages, on the other hand, they are always voiced. In the present Southern E. even the final *s* of such a word as OE *gōs* is voiced, and there seems every reason to suppose that final *þ*, *f*, *s* were voiced in OE also—at least in WS.

523. In such combinations as *st*, *ft* the hisses were, of course, always voiceless. The latter combination is in Ep. often expressed by *pt*, as in *scæpt*, *fs* being also expressed by *ps* and *bs* (cp *lybt* 515) in *aræpsid*, *ræbsid*. This use of *pt* (which is also OIcel.) may be due to a pronunciation of Lt *pt* in *captus* etc as *ft*. *ss* and *ff* were always voiceless. Ep. has *wæffsas*=WS *wæspas*, *wæpsas*. *ff* occurs only in the foreign *offrian*, *Offa* and some obscure words.

524. There is an OE law by which in the combination voiced stop or buzz + buzz both elements are unvoiced. Thus *bledsian* in VP (from **blōdizōn*) becomes *bletsian* in WS. So also eWS *gīdsung* becomes *gītsung*. In the North. LV this law is carried out regularly in compound names such as *Altfriþ*

(= *Aldfriþ*), *Ēatfriþ*, *Ēatþrȳþ*. This tendency is evidently the result of the attempt to strengthen the acoustic effect of the open cons. Of course, if either element is voiceless, the change is still easier, as in *mētsceatt* = *mēdsceatt*.

525. *þ* in the combinations *tþ*, *dþ*, *sþ* is first unvoiced together with the preceding *d* and *s*, and then stopped, giving *t(t)*, *st*, as in WS *bītt* = *bīteþ*, *bīdeþ*, *cīest* = **cīeseþ*, and in *hafastu* = *hafas þū*. Hence in WS *sþ* is often written instead of radical *st*, as in *fæsþ* = *fæst*. So also regularly in *þætte* = *þæt þe*, and occasionally in *þæt tæt*, *þæt tū* etc, showing that in actual speech the initial *þ* of pronominal words was regularly assimilated to the *t* of a preceding *þæt*, a change which is consistently denoted in the ME Ormulum. *þs* is smoothed to *ss* in later OE, as in *blissian* from older *blīpsian*.

526. The change of final *þ* into *s* in verb-inflections in INorth., as in *bindes*, *bindas* = WS *bint* (Angl. *bindeþ*), *bindaþ* seems to be organic, as there do not seem to be any analogical influences at work.

W

527. *w* is expressed in the oldest texts by *uu*, as in *uueg*, single *u* being generally written after a cons., as in *cuic*. In North. single *u* is preferred everywhere: *uerc*. But already in Ep. there are a few instances of the Runic *w*, which became general in the course of the 9th century.

528. The OE *w* must have had the same sound as in MnE, nl that of a consonantal *u*.

529. Final *w* after cons. is vocalized to *u*, *o*, as in *nearo* from Gmc **narwa* through **narw*. After short vowels final *w* is vocalized, and contracted into a diphthong with the preceding vowel, as in *cnēo* 'knee' from Gmc **knewa*. The *w* is often restored by the analogy of other forms with intervocalic *w*, as in the prt *cnēow* 'knew' by the analogy of inf. *cnāwan*. So also *cnēo* becomes *cnēow* in WS by the influence of the pl *cneowu*. After long vowels and Gmc diphthongs final *w* is regularly dropt, as in *sā* = Goth. *sáiw(i)*, *ā* = Goth. *aiw*, but is, however, often restored by the influence of the inflected forms, as in *snāw*.

n, m.

530. *n* had, of course, the back sound before *c* and *g*, as in *sincan*, *singan*, and the front before *ċ* and *ġ*, as in *sencan*, *senġan*.

531. Gmc *n* and *m* were dropt in AFrisian before the hisses and buzzes *h*, *s*, *f* with nasalizing and lengthening of the preceding vowel, *a* becoming *ō* (458), as in *mūh*, *gōs*, *fīf* from **munh*, **gans*, **fimf*.

532. In North. final weak *n* was dropt in inflections; already in eNorth. we find *galgu*, *gistiga* = WS *gealgan*, *gestīgan*. The *n* of the past partic. (*gestigen*) was not dropt, because of the influence of the inflected forms *gestigene* etc.

Stops.

533. There is a tendency in OE to unvoice final voice stops preceded by a vowellike, when unstressed, as in eWS *sint*, which appears originally to have been the weak form corresponding to the strong *sindon*, the ordinary *sind* being a compromise. Other examples are eWS *weorþmynt*, *elpent*, *færelt* = *weorþmynd*, *elpend*, *færelđ*. Cp has *hælsent* 'augurers.' So also final *-ing*, *-ung* are sometimes written *-inc*, *unc* in early texts: *wlatunc* (Cp), *Cymesinc*, together with the compromises *-ingc*, *-incg* etc. These *ts* and *cs* are often carried over to the inflected forms: *færelte*, *gestincum* 'guestings,' 'exiles' (Cp). Conversely, we may assume that the later uninflected forms *færelđ* etc owe their *ds* to the inflected forms. There is no reason for supposing that the final cons. of fully stressed words were unvoiced: such spellings as *felđ* in the older texts really stand for *felth* etc (516, 517).

c.

534. The history of the mutations shows that all the Gmc cons. were liable to fronting when followed by *j* or *i*. In most cases the fronting was afterwards lost: thus in such a word as *ende* it has left no traces besides the mutation of the preceding vowel. The back cons. *c* and *g*, however, have pre-

served a modification of the original fronting to the present day in such words as *chīn*, *singe* (sing) from OE *ċinne*, *seġan*, contrasting with *kin*, *sing* from OE *cynn*, *singan*. MnE (ʃ) and (dʒ) are, indeed, unfailing criteria of OE fronting.

535. Initial Gmc *k* became *ċ* in OE before all vowels which were front before mutation set in, that is, before *æ*, *i*, *e*, *ea*, *eo*, *ē*=Gmc *ē* and its mutation, *ī*, *ē*, *ēa*, *ēo*, and remained unchanged before the back vowels *a*, *u*, *o*, *ā*=Gmc *aī*, *ū*, *ō* and the mutations *ȝ*, *y*, *æ*, *ā* mut. of *ā*=Gmc *aī*, *ȝ*, *ā*. In WS *ċæ*, *ċe*, *ċē* become *ċīe*, *ċīe*, *ċēa* resp., *ċea*, *ċēa* being liable to mutation into *ċīe*, *ċīe* resp. Medial Gmc *k* became *ċ* before *i* and *j*, as in *sēcan*=Goth. *sōkjan*. This *ċ* (which often becomes final in OE through dropping of a vowel, as in the imper. *sāc*) is, of course, always preceded by a mutated vowel. In the early texts, especially in eWS, it is often denoted by a following *i* or *e*: *birciæ* (Ep.), *gescincio* (Cp), *lēceas* (Ep.), *reccio* (Cp). eWS generally has *e*: *sēcan* (and *scan*), *recc(e)an*, but also *i*, especially before *u*: *ċcium*. In lNorth. and lMerc. (Du. and Ru.) there is no trace of these *es* and *is*, and they are rare in lWS. But while lAngl. writes only *ſenca*, *ſencan* etc, there are instances of *ſencean* etc even in quite late WS texts, such as the Gospels. Taken in connection with the ME evidence (741) the lAngl. spellings seem to point to a return to the back *c* in *sēcan*, *ſencan* etc. The spellings *ēkan*, *besenked* in Ru. seem, indeed, to be decisive on this point (538). The return to *c* may have begun before back vowels, as in the infin. *sēcan*. The absence of intrusive *e*, *i* in VP may be simply due to that striving for brevity which is characteristic of this text, being shown, for instance, in its regular omission of final cons. doubling (409) and its want of accents.

536. There was a similar return to back *c* and *g* in Angl. before *al*+cons., as in *cāld*, *galle*=WS *ċeald*, *gealle*.

537. The evidence of ME shows that *c* was fronted in the combination *sc* before all vowels, the foreward *s* evidently drawing the *c* forwards. The *c* of *sc* follows, of course, the same laws as simple *c* before AFrisian *æ* etc, as in WS *sceal*=VP *scel*, and in these cases the *e* is always written. But *see* is also written before originally back vowels, although here it is

often omitted, especially in the earliest texts. Thus WS and Du., Ru. write *sceadan* for the earlier *giscād* (Ep.), *scādan* (VP), eWS and Ru. frequently omitting, lWS and Du. generally keeping the *e*. In lWS *sco*, *scō* generally take the *e*: *sceolde*, *sceort*, *sceōc*, while *scu*, *scū* are generally written *sceo*, *sceō*, less often *sceu*, *sceū*, and occasionally simple *scu*: *scucca*, *sceucca*, *sceocca* (Æfch), *scūfan*, *sceufan*, *sceofan*. The *e* was no doubt fully pronounced in *sceal* etc. Indeed, if this word had not been pronounced with a full diphthong, there would be no reason for its lWS form *sceall*, evidently due to the analogy of *eall*, *weall* etc and the rareness of *-eal*. The frequent omission of the *e* in the other class of words (*sceādan* etc) seems to show that it was a mere diacritic in eWS. But the lWS change of *eu* into *eo* makes it probable that it had developed into the first element of a diphthong with the stress on the first element, which, in the case of *eā*, took the length from the second element. There is ME evidence that *scēadan* from *scādan* had the same diphthong as *brēad* etc.

538. In the oldest texts, and occasionally also in Ru., *cw* is expressed by the Latin *qu*: *quidu*, *quoen*. More important is the occasional use of *k* to denote the back *c*, as opposed to the front *č*, which, again, is exceptionally frequent in Ru., and is not uncommon both in early and late WS. Thus Cp has *kæliþ*, *kylle*, LV has *Kænta* (= *Cęnta*), *Kāna*, *Fronka*, Ru. has *kāsere*, *kyning*, *king*, *ciken* 'chicken,' and *kynn* . *kinn* etc are frequent in WS. *ck* also occurs, as in *Backa* (LV). The distinction may be due to the Runic alphabet, in which the *cēn*-rune seems originally to have been restricted to *č*, the *k*-rune formed from *gār* (itself originally = back *g*) being used to denote the back *c*. In the actual inscriptions *k* is restricted to the back sound: *krist*, *kyning*, *bekun*, but the more frequent *cēn* is occasionally used to denote the back as well as the front sound: *bēcŋ*, *ēac*, *cūþ*.

539. The analogy of *g* (553) and the ME evidence (742) make it tolerably certain that *c* was often fronted after a front vowel, as in *ič*, *sōþlice*.

540. Final *c* in unstress syllables often becomes *h* in North. We find *meh* in a Runic inscription, *meh*, *þeh*, *ūsih* in lNorth., together with *iĥ*, which is also written enclitically *ig*, as in

sægdig = *sægde ic*. This *ig* seems to be simply another way of expressing the same sound, for we find *-ih* written for unstressed *-ig* in lNorth. *ah* for *ac* occurs also in VP.

g

541. Gmc *g* (including earlier Gmc *ȝ*) splits up into *g* and *ȝ* in OE according to the same laws which govern the distribution of *c* and *ċ*. Of the two Runic symbols *gefu* and *gār*, the former probably denoted *ȝ*, the latter *g*, but they are not clearly distinguished in the existing inscriptions.

542. Initial *g* became *ȝ*=ǣ before *æ*, *i*, *e*, *ea*, *eo*, *ǣ* = Gmc *ǣ*, *ī*, *ē*, *ēa*, *ēo*, and was kept unchanged before *a* (= *ǣ*), *u*, *o*, *ā* = Gmc *ai*, *ū*, *ō*; *ȝ*, *y*, *æ*, *ǣ* = mut. of *ā*, *ȳ*, *ǣ*. In WS *ȝæ*, *ȝe*, *ȝǣ* become *ȝea*, *ȝie*, *ȝǣa* resp., *ȝea*, *ȝǣa* being liable to mutation into *ȝie*, *ȝie* resp.

543. Initial Gmc *j* was hardened into the stop ǣ in OE, and was thus confounded with *ȝ* both in sound and spelling. It was expressed by simple *g* before front vowels, as in *ȝif*=Goth. *jabai*, *Gessus* (Runic inscr.) = *Jesus*, Anglian *ȝēr* = Goth. *jēr*. Gmc *jǣ* becomes *ȝǣa* in WS, as in *ȝǣar*. Before back vowels it is often expressed by *gi* in the older texts, but generally by *ge*, as in *ȝioc*, *ȝeoc* = OHG *joh*, *geōmor* = OHG *jāmar* (458), *Giūfēas* 'Jews' in a Runic inscr. = the usual half-Latinized *Judeas*. *giung* (Du. Rit.) = Goth. *jugg*. In WS *geu* becomes *geo* (cp *sceocca* from *sceucca* 537), as in *geong*, *geogof*. VP generally writes simple *g* in *gung*, *guguf*. The Latin *i* is not unfrequent, especially in Ru.: *iung* (also in VP), *ioc* (also in Kt ch). In eWS we find the forms *iung*, *giung*, *giong*, *geong*, the last becoming general in lWS. Such spellings as *iung*, *iu* in lWS seem due to Kt or Mercian influence. The spellings *gung* and *iung* show that in the nonWS dialects *ȝ* from *j* had no more diphthonging influence than *ȝ* from Gmc *g*, while the WS change of **geung* into *geong* shows as clearly the development of a full diphthong with the stress on the first element.

544. Even *ȝ* = Gmc *g* is sometimes written *i*. Thus Cp has *ieces* = *ȝeaces*, and Ru. has regularly *iarwan* = *ȝearwian* and *ierd*

= *gerd*, WS *gierd*. Even in foreign words we find *Iorius* = *Georgius* (OET).

545. In the poetry the two *js* alliterate freely not only with one another but also with *g*, thus *geong* alliterates with *giedd*, *Geat* and with *gold*.

546. This last fact is generally cited as a proof of initial *g* and *ǵ* being open cons. in OE, as in MnDutch, where *geven* and *god* are both pronounced with *ε* or *c*. It is assumed that such a word as *god* in OE had initial *ε*, while *geong*, *gefan* had initial *œ*, so that instead of Gmc *j* being hardened into a stop, it was Gmc *g* before front vowels that was levelled under *j*.

547. Plausible as this theory seems, there are fatal objections to it. The WS change of *ēe* into *ēie* is the result of the almost inevitable development of an open front glide, which we may roughly call *j*, between the stopped front cons. and the vowel, and if we assume that in *ǵe* the *ǵ* was also a stopped cons., the change into *ǵie* is perfectly analogous and intelligible, while that of **ǵe* into **ǵje* is unmeaning. The same argument applies equally to *ǵ* from Gmc *j*: if *giung* meant simply *jung*, the development of a *j*-glide would be as unintelligible as that of a *w*-glide in such a word as *willa*, the open *j* and *w* being themselves practically glides. Again, LV writes *Eadgar*, *Aldgis* etc, but if the *g* were really an open cons., we should expect to find the preceding *ds* become *t* (524), which is not the case. Another argument in favour of the change of *j* into a stop is the loss of the Runic *j* and the use of *gefu*—which must certainly have originally denoted a stop—to represent both Gmc *j* and the OE fronted Gmc *g*. The use of *i* in *iung* to denote a stop is in complete harmony with the Late Lt pronunciation, in which, as the Romance languages show, *j* must have become a stop (88).

548. In ME all initial *js* became *j* (745). The alliteration proves that in OKt this pronunciation was already established, not only in *jung* but also in **jorne* = *georne*, etc (443), so that two such words as *geald* and *eald* were both pronounced *jald*, whence the not unfrequent confusion between *ea*- and *gea*- in some late mss: *earwe* for *gearwe*, *gearfope* for *earfope*. This *j*-sound was, of course, as naturally expressed by *i* as the older

ġ was, and it is probable that the *iarwan* of Ru. really means *jarwan*, with absorption of the *e*.

549. The same weakening seems to have been carried out much earlier and in all the dialects in unstressed syllables. The prefix *ge-* (older *gi-*) and the pronoun *gē* never insert an *i* in WS, as they would if the cons. had been a stop; *gie* in Du. may be an emphatic form of *gē*. *ge-* is written *ie-* twice in old mss. *i* for *g* in the second element of eKt names such as *Æpiliard* = *Æpelgeard* may also represent weak *j*.

550. Uninitial *g* was a stop in the combination *ng*, as proved by the final change into *nc* (533). *ng* was, therefore, æ, as in MnE *longer*, after unmutated vowels, as in *singan*, *lang*. When preceded by a mutation—that is, when followed in Gmc by *i* or *j*—it had the sound ɫ, as in *sengan* 'sing' from Gmc **sangjan*, *lenj*.

551. Uninitial *g* was also a stop when doubled = Gmc *gg*. This doubling is written *gg* in Ep. and occasionally in later texts, but the usual spelling is *cg*, thus Ep. has *earwigga*, *mygg* = later *earwicga*, *mycg*. *cgg*, *gc*, *gcg* are occasional variants. Shortening of final *cg* into *c* or *g* is very rare. As this group must necessarily be always front (*lēcgan* = *lēggan*, Goth. *lagjan*), it is probable that the *c* was introduced in order to indicate this front quality, there being no special letter for *ġ*. This is confirmed by the frequent use of *gg* in the few (probably foreign) words in which the doubling occurs after unmutated vowels, and therefore expresses *gg*, not *ġġ*, as in *frogga* 'frog,' *clugge* 'bell,' which last is certainly Celtic. It is also possible that the combination *cg* was meant to symbolize a half-voiced or whispered *gg*, for we find *stypbum* for *stybbum* once (OET).

552. Elsewhere uninitial *g* was an open back or front cons. (ɛ, ɔ), the open *ġ* occurring under the same circumstances as *ċ* (535), and like it, being expressed by *g*, *gi* and *ge*. The openness of the *g* is shown by ME and the evidence of the OE sound-changes and spellings, which will be treated of further on, and is made a-priori probable by the fact of a similar change having taken place in all the MnGmc languages except Upper Gm (330). Open *g* occurred not only after

vowels, but also after the vowellikes *r*, *l*, as in *beorgan*, *fylgan*.

553. Open *g* is, of course, always front before Gmc *i*, *j*, as in *męnigo* = Goth. *managei*, *fylgan* from **fulgjan*, being often expressed by *gi*, *ge* in the same texts which write *ci*, *ce* for *c*: *ķęrgiung* (Cp), *męnigeo*, *fylgean*. By a later change open *g* became front after front vowels when final or followed by another front vowel, as in *dæg*, *weġ*, gen. *dæġes*, *weġes*, *gręġ*. So also after the Anglian smoothings of the WS diphthongs as in *ęġe* = WS *ęage*. In Kt, indeed, this *ġ* is frequently written *i*. Already in Ep. we find *gręi* etc, and *dei* is frequent in the later Kt. The North. LV has *Meiuald* once = WS *Męġweald*. These spellings do not occur in WS, but in lWS such spellings as *dęig* are not uncommon. They may be regarded either as showing the development of a glide—*w*l*eo*, or as compromises between the traditional *dæg* and the phonetic **dęi*. The latter view is the most probable: there is every reason to believe that the Kt spellings represent the general OE pronunciation, and that *ġ* preceded by a front vowel had sunk to a diphthongic vowel, or, at any rate, had lost all consonantal buzz. If it had preserved any consonantal quality, it would have followed the analogy of final open *g* (554), and become *o*, and would have been preserved as a hiss cons. in ME—neither of which is the case. The use of *ig* to denote *i* (376) shows, too, that even in eWS medial and final *ġ* had been completely vowelized—after *i* at least. When final *ġ* had once been weakened into a vowel, its parallelism with *c* was lost; hence it did not revert to the back quality in Anglian, as was apparently the case with uninitial *c* (535). There is, however, ME evidence of such a reversion in the case of medial *ġ* (750). Open *g* preceded by a front vowel and followed by a final vowellike is always front, apparently even when a back vowel is added in inflection, as in *seġl*, *regn*, generally written *seġel*, *regen* later.

554. Open *g* is necessarily back finally or medially after a back vowel, as in *trog*, *genęg*, *boga*, *ġebogen*, also when *r*, *l* come between, as in *burg*, *ġealga*. In lWS and lKt final open *g* is written *h*, showing loss of voice: *troh*, *genęh*, *burh*. The spell-

ings *gh*, *hg* occur occasionally for final open *g*, as in *slogh*, *astahg* (*gh* already in Cp), the latter even for medial open *g*, especially after *r*, as in *burhga* pl, *beorhgan*. *hg* is also used for *g* between front vowels, as in *wihgena* gen. pl, *gewehgene*, though not for *ġ* preceded by a mutation. Some late mss occasionally write simple *h*, as in eME. Open *g* seems also to have been back after a front vowel if followed by a back one, as in *nigon*, *plega*, unless, of course, the preceding vowel is a mutation as in *wrēġ(e)an* 'accuse' from **wrōġġan*. So also *g* was apparently back in such words as *beġan*, where a vowel-like comes between.

555. Open *g* and *ġ* are unvoiced and written *h* in the later language before voiceless cons. and buzzes, which latter are themselves unvoiced (524): *stihet*, *stihþ* from *stigan*.

556. *g*, *ġ* after front vowels are dropped before the voiced cons. *þ*, *n*, *d* in lWS, as in *tīþian*, *rīnan*, *sæde*, *lēde* = older *tigþian*, *riġnan*, *sægde*, *lēgde*. VP has *rīnan*, where the contraction of (ij) into *ī* was almost inevitable, but otherwise the non-WS dialects keep the *g*, even lKt having *meiden* (= **mæiden*) = lWS *mæden*, eWS *mægden*. The lWS contraction after back vowel, as in *brōden* from *brogden*, seems to be due to the analogy of the present *brēdan* from *bregdan*. *ġ* is often dropped in the combination -*ig*, as in *stīweard* from *stigweard*, *āni*, *ānie*, and medial *ige* often becomes *ī*, especially in later WS, as in *līþ* = older *ligeþ* 'lies.'

p, b.

557. *b* occurs only initially, and uninitially in the combination *mb*, as in *lamb* (cp *ng*) and doubled, *bb* = Gmc *bj*, *fj*, as in *wębb* from **wabja* Sk *vabh-*), *hebban* = Goth. *haþþan* through **heþþan*.

For *b* as a graphic substitute for *f* see 515.

SCANDINAVIAN.

558. The Scandinavian (Scand.) languages fall into two main groups:

(1) East-Scandinavian (EScand.), comprising Swedish (Sw) and Danish (Dan.).

(2) West-Scandinavian (WScand.), comprising Norwegian and Icelandic.

These languages are best represented by the OIcel. of the 13th century, which, with some exceptions, practically represents the parent Scand.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

559. The Icel. alphabet was the Latin, as learnt from the English. It included, therefore, *þ* and the less frequent *ð*. It added the new letter *ǰ*, formed on the analogy of *ǣ*, for which *æ* was also written. Length was marked by the British (').

VOWELS.

560.	a, ǰ	i	e	u	o
	ei, ǰu (au)		ja, jǰ		
	ǣ, ǰǣ; ǰy (ey)		y		ö
	<hr/>				
	ā, ǰ (ā)	ī	ē	ū	ō
			jō, jū		
	æ		y		œ.

561. Of these sounds *ei* (= *ǣi*) corresponds to Gmc *ai*, as in *stein* 'stone,' and *jō, jū* to Gmc *eu*, as in *kjōsa* 'choose,' *sjūk* 'sick,' *ǰu* (which in Icel. is diverged into *au*) to Gmc *au*, as in *dǰup* 'dead,' *ā* to Gmc *ā*, as in *rāþ* 'advice,' = OE *stān, cēosan, sēoc, dēad, rēd* (nonWS *rēd*).

562. *e* followed by older *a* becomes *ja*, when followed by older *u, v* it becomes *jǰ*, through **ea, *eǰ* (**ia, *iǰ*) by stress-shifting as in Kt (443) and hardening of the first element to a cons.: *ǰǰf*, gen. *ǰjafar* = OE *gefu, gefe*.

563. The i-mutations are nearly the same as in OE:

a (ǫ)...ę: *mann* 'man,' pl *menn*.

e (ja, jǫ)...i: *skjöld* (= **skeldu*) 'shield,' pl *skildir*.

u (o)...y: *full* 'full,' *fylla* 'fill.'

o...ö: *koma* 'come,' *kömr* 'comes.'

ā...æ: *māl* 'speech,' *mæla* 'speak.'

ū...ȳ: *brūn* 'eyebrow,' pl *brȳnn*.

ō...œ: *fōr* 'went,' *fœra* 'bring.'

qu...þy: *lous* 'loose,' *lþysa* 'loosen' = later *laus*, *leysa*.

jū (jō)...ȳ: *sjuk* 'sick,' *sȳki* 'sickness.'

i-mutation is also caused by *r*=Gmc *z* (315), as in *þyra* 'ear,' from Gmc **auzō*.

564. There is also a *u-* or *w-*mutation:

a...ǫ: *hond* 'hand' = Goth. *handu*.

ā...ǭ: *māl* 'speech,' pl *mǫl* (later *māl*).

ę...ǭ: *gþra* 'do' = OE *gerwan*.

565. Final stressed vowels were lengthened, as in *þū* 'thou.' Vowels were lengthened before *l* + certain cons., as in *hālf* 'half.' Consonant length was strictly observed even after long vowels and diphthongs, as in *þræll* nom. 'serf,' acc. *þræl*.

CONSONANTS.

566. The consonants were:—

	BACK	FRONT	POINT	FOREW.	LIP
h	—	—	hr	þ, s	f, hv
	—	—	hl		—
k	—	—	t		p
—	—	—	hn		—
<hr/>					
	g	j	r	þ	f, v
—	—	—	l		—
	g	—	d		b
	n(g)	—	n		m

ts was expressed by *z*, as in *þęxt*=OE *þęlst*.

567. What has been said of the OE *hr*, *hl*, *hw*, *hn* applies also to the corresponding Icel. sounds in such words as *hring*, *hlaja* (=OE *hladan*), *hvat*, *hnīga*, which in MnIcel. are pronounced

with α , ω , \varnothing , τ resp. Uninitial Gmc h was dropt everywhere, as in *sā*, *döttir*=OE *geseah*, *dohter*, except that *hs* became α (= *ks*), as in *vaxa*=OE *weaxan*. The original Scand. h is preserved in ME loanwords such as *slakter*=Icel. *slátr*.

568. Initial Gmc j was dropt everywhere, as in *ār*=Goth. *jēr*, the existing initial js (as in *jörþ*=OE *eorpe*) being all diphthongic.

569. Initial Gmc w was dropt before o and u , as in *unnin* (=OE *gewunnen*), ptc of *vinna*, also before r and l , where it is kept in Norw. and EScand.: (*v*)*reip*=OE *wrāþ*, (*v*)*rang* 'wrong.'

570. $þ$ and f were voiceless initially and in combinations such as *ft* (often written *pt*, as in *lopt* 'air'), voiced elsewhere, as in *viþ*, *hefja*=Goth. *hafjan* 'raise.'

571. Uninitial g after a vowel or vowellike was open,= ϵ , ϕ as in *saga* 'story,' *borg* 'city,' *segir* 'says,' except when doubled, and in the combination *ng*= \mathfrak{a} , as in *legg* 'thigh,' *lang* 'long.' Final g became h , and was dropt, as in *drō*=OE *drōg*, prt of *draga*.

572. So also older d and b became voiced $þ$ and f after vowels and vowellikes, as in *rāþ*=OE *rād*, *gefa*=OHG *geban*, except when doubled, *dd*, *bb*, and in the combinations *ld*, *nd*, *mb*, as in *halda*.

573. k and g were front modified (α , ϵ) before all front vowels, as in *kenna* 'know,' *göra*, and before Gmc j , which was preserved in writing, though only as a mark of fronting, Gmc gj becoming *ggj*, as in *sækja*=OE *sēcjan*, *liggja*=OE *licgan*.

574. Final voiced stops were unvoiced in such forms as *galt*=OE *geald*, prt of *gjalda*=OE *geldan* 'requite.'

575. There were various cons.-assimilations. *lþ*, *nþ* became *ll*, *nn*, as in *goll* (*gull*) 'gold,' *annar* 'other,'=Goth. *gulþ*, *anþar*. Gmc *zn*, *zd*, *zr* became *nn*, *dd*, *rr*, as in *rann* 'house'=Goth. *razn*, *hodd*=Goth. *huzd*, OE *hord* 'treasure,' *verri* 'worse.' *nk*, *nt*, *mp* became *kk*, *tt*, *pp*, as in *drukkin* 'drunk,' *batt* 'bound,' prt of *binda* (through **band*, **bant*), *kappi* 'champion' (cp OE *cempa*), the original *nk* etc being often preserved in EScand.

576. n was dropt finally in monosyllables and endings, as in *ā*, *ī*=OE *on* (Goth. *ana*), *in*, *finna*=OE *findan* infin.; and before r , l , s and elsewhere, with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as in *þōr* 'Thor'=OHG *donar*, OE *þunor*, *gās*=OHG *gans* 'goose.'

INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH.

577. The earliest Scand. invaders of England were mostly Norwegians, who were followed by Danes, all Scandinavians being included under the term 'Dane' in OE. Danish and E. were spoken side by side in England for many centuries without much influence—at least of Danish on E., even the North. texts showing no traces of it. In the 11th cent. Danish words, such as *lagu* 'law' (Icel. *lög* pl from **lōgu*), *ceallian* (Icel. *kalla*) had penetrated even into WS, and in the 13th cent. their number largely increases, not only such words as *gerseme*, *wontreape* = Icel. *gǫrsimi* 'treasure,' *vandræpi* 'difficulty,' but also grammatical words, such as *bōþe* 'both' = Icel. *báði* (OE *bā*, *bēgen*) being firmly established in the Southern dialect. The Scand. element is, of course, stronger still in the East-Midland Ormulum of the 13th cent. Such words as *summ* 'as,' *bōþe* 'booth' in the Ormulum are distinctly EScand. (Danish) as opposed to WScand. (Icel. *sem*, *būþ*).

578. The Scand. words in OE sometimes preserve *ø* in the form of *o*, as in *hold* 'yoeman' from *hōld*, *hōþ* (cognate with OE *hæleþ* 'hero'), where the *o* is partly due to the analogy of the OE adj. *hold* 'faithful.' In other words, such as *lagu*, *ø* is unrounded, as in the lWS *mann* etc. Of the diphthongs, *ei* is preserved unchanged, being expressed sometimes by *ei*, but generally by *eg*, *æg*, as in *scægþ* = Icel. *skeiþ* 'war-ship'; and *öy* was probably levelled under it. *ou* becomes *ō* (= *ø*?), as in *ōra* (a coin) = Icel. *aurar* (pl) from Lt *aureus*. It is remarkable that *o*, *ō* often appear as *u*, *ū* in OE, as in *Urm*, *pūr* = *Orm*, *pör*, whence our *Thursday*, which cannot be explained from the original OE *þunresdæg*. This change is explained by the present Dan-Sw-Norw. pronunciation of close *o*, both long and short, as *ɥ*—a sound between *o* and *u*. This Scand. *o* was afterwards levelled under the E. sound, so that we find *Orm*, *blome* (Icel. *blōmi*) in ME.

MIDDLE ENGLISH SOUNDS.

DIALECTS AND TEXTS.

579. The ME dialects are mainly continuations of the corresponding OE ones, but it is convenient to designate them in some cases by different names. The four main divisions are: *Northern* or Northumbrian (North.), *Midland* (Ml), corresponding to the older Mercian, *Southern* (Sth), and *Kentish* (Kt). Sth and Kt are included under the common designation 'Southern English' (SthE). Ml is subdivided into *West-Midland* (WMI) and *East-Midland* (EMI), and these, again, into *North-west-Midland* (NWMI), *South-west-Midland* (SWMI), *North-east-Midland* (NEMI), and *South-east-Midland* (SEMI). A special subdivision of Sth is *South-Western* (SthW). It is to be noted that though Sth represents geographically the old WS it also shows strong Ml influence. This mixture of dialects is still stronger in the later language of Ch.

580. It is impossible to draw any absolutely definite line between ME and OE on the one side and MnE on the other, but, roughly speaking, fully developed ME may be said to extend from 1150 to 1450, the period between 1200 and 1400 being especially well marked and well represented by written documents. The period from 1050 to 1150 may be distinguished as *Old Transition* (OTr), that from 1450 to 1500 as *Middle Transition* (MlTr). The difficulty of drawing a line is increased by the varying speed of change of the different dialects. The most conservative dialects were the Southern, especially Kt, the most rapid in their changes the Northern: the eNorth. dialect of the 13th cent. is, indeed, almost on a level with eMnE. Taking the SthE dialects as the standard we may call everything before 1300 *early Middle English* (eME), everything after 1300 *late Middle English* (lME).

581. If we take SthE as the standard, we may define OE as the period of *full* endings (*mōna, sunne, sunu, stānas*), ME as the period of *levelled* endings (*mōne, sunne, sune, stōnes*)—weak vowels

being reduced to a uniform *e* (= *ɪ* ?)—, MnE as the period of *lost endings* (*moon, sun, son*).

582. The most important of the OTr texts is the latter part of the Laud ms of the Chronicle (Ld), which was written at Peterborough between 1124 and 1154, and belongs therefore to EMI: it shows a mixture of literary WS and Ml forms. The older ms of Layamon's Brut (Lay.) was written before 1200 in a WMI dialect, and its mixture of OE and ME forms classes it with the OTr texts. Many 12th cent. texts, such as the Hatton ms of the Gospels, Morris's Old-English Homilies (Hom.), show a mixture of OE and ME forms which is the result of copying from OE originals, and only partially modernizing them: such texts do not represent any actual language.

583. The Ormulum (O.), although written probably before 1200, shows a fully developed and well defined ME dialect—probably EMI—preserved in an autograph ms of the author in a rigorously consistent phonetic orthography, which makes it the standard text for ME generally. The other chief eEMI texts are the Bestiary (Best.) and Genesis and Exodus (GE). Havelok (Hv) is, like most of the popular poems, preserved only in mss showing a purely scribal mixture of different dialects and periods, and which cannot, therefore, be quoted to show the dialect of the original, except when the form in question is borne out by the rhymes. eWMI is represented by the second text of Lay (Lay.²). The poems in the Harleian ms 2253 (Harl.), written in Hereford about 1307, may also be considered eWMI. lWMI is represented by Piers Ploughman (PPl), and, in its latest stage, by the poems of Audelay (Aud.), written in Shropshire in 1426, the ms being probably the author's autograph. eNWMI (Lancashire) is represented in the Alliterative Poems (Pearl, Cleanness, Patience) edited by Morris (AllP). The later EMI is well represented by Robert of Brunne's Chronicle (RBC), Brunne being in Lincoln.

584. One of the earliest North. texts is the Metrical Psalter (Ps), but the ms is later. The Cursor Mundi (CM) and Metrical Homilies (MH) are early 13th cent. Then follow the Prick of Conscience (PC). The ms of the Yorkshire Townley

Mysteries (TM) was written about 1450, but the rhymes show an older language.

585. The Sth dialect is represented in its earliest form by the lives of St. Katherine (Kath.), Juliana (Jul.) and some allied pieces, also by the unpublished Cambridge (Corpus) ms of the Ancren Riwe (AR¹), although this Corpus ms seems to show Ml influence; the forms common to this group of texts may be distinguished as 'earliest Sth.' Pure eSth is best represented by Morton's text of the AR, the more western dialect of Gloucestershire by Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (RG), which, however, belongs almost to lSth.

586. eKt is represented by the Kentish Sermons (KS), lKt by the Ayenbite of Inwyte (Ay.) in a ms of 1340, written by the author himself in a very pure and consistent dialect.

587. The first beginnings of a common literary dialect are seen in the works of Wiclif (Wicl.) and Chaucer (Ch). Wiclif was a native of Yorkshire, Chaucer of London. Chaucer's rhymes show a considerable fluctuation between EMl, Sth, and Kt, but the basis is Ml.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

588. While the linguistic change of OE into ME is so gradual that it is difficult to tell where the one ends and the other begins, the orthographic change is abrupt and complete: it amounts, indeed, to the introduction of a totally new basis—the eNorman Fr orthography, modified, of course, in detail by the traditional British orthography.

589. For some time after the Norman conquest in 1066 the two orthographies continued to be used side by side without influencing one another to any great extent, just as the languages themselves were kept apart. The influence of French language, writing, and orthography had, however, begun to show themselves even before the conquest. The feeble reign of Edward the Confessor was, indeed, in its tame submission to Norman influence, nothing but a preparation for the completer conquest that was to follow. The influence of the French language is shown by the appearance of such words as

sott 'hebes', *capūn* 'gallinaceus' in early 11th cent. glossaries. The influence of the French handwriting has been described already (222). The influence of Fr orthography is seen in such spellings as *euen* for *efen* in 11th cent. mss.

590. This influence was at first purely Norman. The accession of Henry II of Anjou in 1154 brought in the influence of other dialects, and the loss of Normandy in 1204 paved the way for the influence of literary Parisian orthography both in its earlier and later form.

591. When the popular Latin of Gaul was written down—which was probably not much earlier than the ninth cent.—its sounds were represented by their nearest symbols in the contemporary Latin alphabet. But by this time the tradition of the classical pronunciation—still preserved in the Celtic-English orthography—had been partially lost. The diphthongs *æ* and *æ* had been levelled under simple *e*, and *y* had come to be a mere variant of *i*. So when Lt *ū* was fronted to *f* in OFr, as in *lune*, the old *u* was kept as the symbol of the new sound. Meanwhile Lt *u* and *ō* had become *ɥ*—a sound between (u) and (o)—which was at first written indifferently *u* or *o*, as in *gule*, *gole*, *curt*, *cort* from Lt *gulam*, **cōrtem* (from *cohortem*), the *o* soon becoming general, and thus being confused with the open *o* from Lt *ō*, as in *port* = *portum*, *chose* = *causam*. The eOFr diphthong (ou), as in *douz* (earlier *dolz*) from Lt *dulcem*, was smoothed into (uu) in lParisian, and so *ou* came to be the symbol of (u, uu) instead of the older *u*, *o*, as in *goule*, *court*.

592. In the conss. Lt *c* before front vowels became first *ɔ* and then (tʃ), which was the Picard pronunciation in such a word as *ciel* from Lt *caelum*. In the other dialects this *c* became (ts), and then simple (s), as in the present Fr. *ch* was at first used to denote (k) before front vowels as in Italian: *chi* from *qvi*; but afterwards became the regular symbol for the (tʃ) which in Parisian developed out of *c* followed by *a* (and in other cases), as in *chien* from *canem* through **ɔɽɿ*. Lt *g* was fronted under the same circumstances, and became (dʒ), as in *geste* from *gesta*, which remained through the OFr period, becoming (ʒ) in MnFr. Lt *j* was stopped into *ɛ*, which then became (dʒ) being written *i* or *j*, as in *ja* from Lt *jam*. The

combination (kw) was expressed by the Lt *qu*, as in *quel* from *qvālem*, the (w) being soon dropt in pronunciation. So also the (gw) in such a word as *langue* from *lingvam* lost its (w) in lPar. Hence *qu* and *gu* came in lOFr to be regarded as symbols of 'hard' *c* and *g* resp. The new ligature *w* was formed in North Fr to express the Gm (w), as in *warde*, for which the other dialects have (gw); *garde*, later *garde*. The Lt *v* itself had long ago lost its (w)-sound, and had come to represent that of the voiced sound of *f*. Lt *z* still kept its original value (dz) when initial or medial, becoming (ts) when final, as in *assez*—our *assets*—from Lt *adsatis*; it was not till the lOFr period that these compounds were simplified to (z) and (s). Hence the (z)-sound which Lt *s* took between vowels was expressed by the traditional *s*, as in *rose* from *rosam*. Already in eOFr the earlier (z) before voiced conss. had been dropt with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as in *isle* from Lt *īnsulam*. Hence in lOFr *s* is sometimes inserted as a mark of length, as in *pasle* for *pal(l)e* from Lt *pallidus*.

593. It will be seen that OFr orthography was phonetic on an unphonetic basis (228): it is not till the close of the OFr period that 'etymological' spellings begin to crop up. The only exception is the writing of silent initial Lt *h* in such words as *hum* from *homō*, but as this is only done when a vowel precedes—'the man' being written *lum*—it is probable that the *h* was meant to indicate the hiatus, and was, therefore, partially phonetic.

594. The basis of ME orthography is, as already remarked, French modified by the OE tradition, the OE elements being gradually eliminated more and more. Conversely, however, some of the earliest ME texts show a basis which is still mainly OE, only slightly modified by Fr. This is especially the case with the Midland O. as compared with the Sth texts of the same period. *Southern*

595. The influence of Fr is most strikingly shown—as far as the vowels are concerned—in the substitution of *u* for OE *y*, *ȳ* in WMl and Sth, as in *sunne*, *fur*=OE *synn*, *fȳr*. The long sound was sometimes written *ui*, as in *huiren* 'hire' (AR)=OE *hȳran*, in lME *ny*, which is frequent in PPl. In

Ofr *ui* had generally the value (·yi), as in *fruit*; this diphthong was smoothed to (yy) in the E. pronunciation of Fr, and was consequently employed to represent that sound. The use of *o* for short (u) is later than that of *u* for (y). It does not occur in AR, and does not become general till the end of the 13th cent. Remarkably enough, there are several instances of it in Lay.: *wonedē, icomene, wode*. It is fully established in Lay.². The tendency is to write *o* for *u* in proximity with letters that resemble *u* in shape, especially *u* (=v), *n*, *m*, *w*. Initial *u* was, however, often written *v*, which was freely associated with *n* etc, as in *vnder*. *o* in IME is also generally written instead of *u* when followed by a single cons. and a vowel, as in *bote* 'but', *corāje* 'courage', for, as Fr. (y) was much more frequent than the (o)-sounds in this position, *bute* would have suggested (byytə). The use of lParisian *ou* to express (uu), as in *hous*=OE *hūs*, became general in IME. This *ou* also occurs in Lay., as in *out* (*vt* in the second text), *wiðouten*, *coupe*, where it cannot be of Parisian origin. But the eFr diphthongal *ou* had in many cases the sound of ʝæ, which is so near (uu) as to make its symbol a very natural one for the latter sound. The desire to get a new symbol for (uu) would, of course, assert itself as soon as *u* had become general in the value of (yy)—that is, from the very beginning of ME.

596. The OE *y* was, as we have seen, completely superseded by *u* in the South. In OTrMl (and probably in North.) it was unrounded into *i*. Ld still preserves the old *y* in *byrien*, *mynster*, but these words are also spelt with *i*; we also find in Ld such spellings as *sinnes*, *fir*=OE *synna*, *fȳr*. *y* is rarely written for *i* in Ld, oftener for *ī*, as in *seyr* adj. and sbst, *tyma*; probably *y* was regarded as a ligature of *i* and *j*. In O. *y* disappears as completely as in the South, except in foreign words. In IME *y* was revived as a variant of *i* in proximity with *n*, *m*, *u*, *w*, in order to avoid confusions of form, as in *bynāen*, *wyues* (=wīves), which confusions were often avoided by writing initial *i* as a capital: *Inne*=*yane*. In Ch there is a tendency to write *y* for *ī*, as in Ld.

597. OE *æ* was kept in O., but was necessarily confined to

the long sound, the short *æ*s having become *a*. In the South Fr influence caused its disuse. Here the OE *æ* was expressed by *e*, as in *efter*=OE *æfter*. As OE *ēa* was smoothed to *ɥ* in ME, *ea* was used as the symbol of the latter sound both when it corresponded to OE *ēa*, as in *deap*, and when it corresponded to OE *æ*, as in *learen*=OE *læran* (*dæp*, *lærenn* in O.). Even in eME *e* is frequently written for the open as well as the close sound, and in lME such spellings as *dēp*, *leren* become universal. In lME the close *ē* is sometimes written *ie*, *ye*, both in Fr words, such as *meschief*, and in E., as in *lief* (Ch)=OE *lēof*. This spelling is the result of the Anglo-French smoothing of OFr *ie* (i:ee) into (ee).

598. A distinction between close and open long *o* is only exceptionally made in eME (as in the AR) by writing the latter *oa* in such words as *moare* from OE *māre*, the *oa* being a natural compromise between the older *a* (still preserved in the earliest Sth) and the later *o*.

599. It will be observed that the digraphs *ea*, *ie*, *oa*, *ou*, *ui* are strictly confined to *long* vowels, except in some of the earliest texts.

600. The OE *þ* and *ð* are both preserved in Lay.—where *þ* is generally written initially, *ð* non-initially, as in lWS—and in AR, where they are distributed more at random. The EMI Best. and GE are remarkable for writing *ð* everywhere, while O., which belongs to the same dialect, has *only þ*. *þ* entirely supersedes *ð* in lME, being itself gradually supplanted by *th*—probably brought in by Fr scribes who occasionally employed it in learned Latin words. Isolated *ths* in native E. words occur very early—even in the OE period—and the transposed *ht* occurs in Harl. (*teht*=OE *tēþ*), and frequently in MH (*wiht* prp), and elsewhere. Other combinations occur: *dh* (KS), *ðh* (GE), *hð* (GE), *dþ*, *dð*. It may be noted that *þ* has survived almost to the present day in the contraction *þe*=*pe*.

601. The OE rune-*w*, which is still used in O. and AR, was soon superseded by the Fr ligature. The pronunciation of OE *ow* etc as *ou* led in lME to the general use of *w* as well as *u* as the second element of graphic as well as phonetic diphthongs, as in *how*=OE *hū*. Conversely, *w* was sometimes used

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as an abbreviation of *wu*, as in *wide*. *w* after a cons. was often written *u*: *suerd*, *huo* (Ay.).

602. In O. *f* is still used for intervocalic (*v*), as in *lufenn*=OE *lufian*, and this usage was more or less kept up in North. to the end of the IME period, even TM showing instances of it. But O. has in a Fr word *servenn* once instead of his usual *serfenn*. Medial *v* is regular in AR, as in *heovene*, and is very frequent initially, as in *vorþ* by the side of *forþ*. *f* is always preserved finally, as in *lif*, to prevent confusion with the vowel *u*: **liu*, for instance, would suggest a diphthong. For the same reason *f* is written before voiced cons., as in *hefde*=OE *hæfde*. *ph* is only found occasionally in learned words taken from OFr.

603. *s* is generally written for the voiced as well as the breathsound. *ss* is sometimes written *sc*, which had the sound of (ss) or (s) in OFr: thus AR has *lescun* 'lesson,' *blescen* 'bless,' and GE and CM have *bliscd* 'blessed.' The IOFr *z* is used pretty regularly in the Ay. for voiced *s*, as in *zigge*, *aze*. Elsewhere it is rare in E. words. Thus Ch has *Pize*: *rise*, such spellings as *wezele* being exceptional. In eME *z* has the older value (ts) in Fr words, especially in the combination *nz*, such spellings as the plurals *bezzzannz* (O.), *vestimenz* (AR) lasting down to Ch.

604. The general disuse of the OE *c* before *e* and *i* is the result of its double pronunciation in Fr. O. always writes *k* before *e* and *i*, often also before *a*, but alternating here with *c*, which is always written before *o*, *u* and cons.: *kepenn*, *king*, *kare*, *care*, *corn*, *cumenn*, *clap*, *cwen*. The usage in AR is the same, except that it writes *k* freely before *o*, *u*, and cons. except *w*: *ku*, *cunnen*, *kniht*, *cwēne*. In eME *c* has its eOFr value of (ts): OE *miltse* appears in Ld as *milce*, in O. as *millce*. *tc* has the same value in some eME spellings of OE *bletsian*: Ld has *bletcæd*, O. *blettcædd* by the side of *blettscædd*. AR has the half-etymological spelling *seldcene*=OE *seldsēne* (524), where the other text has the phonetic *seltsene*. It is not till IME that we find *c* by itself used for (s) in E. words, as in *alce* 'also' (AllP), *wace* 'was': *face* (AllP). *qu* for *cw* is rare in AR, but soon becomes general.

juggen. *gg* is ambiguous in ME, as it may be either OE or Scand. *gg* (*bagge*) or *cg* (Sth *seggen*). In Ld initial *g* is often written *i*, as in *iæf* by the side of *geaf*. This spelling was no doubt given up in order to avoid confusion with the Fr *j*. Best. and GE are remarkable for their general use of *g* to the exclusion of *z*, as in *ging*, *gung* 'young.' The oldest text of CM has *gi* = *o*, as in *giet* 'yet,' *gieme* = OE *gēman*, the later North. texts writing *yh* (PC) and *y*: *yhit*, *yit*. 1ME varies between *z* and *y*: *zong*, *yong*. This ME consonantal *y* is probably due to the IOFr writing of *y* initially instead of *i*, *y* being as rarely used in eOFr as in eME. It is also possible that the consonantal use of *y* may have been suggested by the IOE spellings *yorpe* etc (434), where the *y* practically denoted (j). The use of *gu* to express hard *g*, both in Fr words, such as *guard*, and E., such as *guest*, *guilt*, is due to later OFr, in which the older (w) in *langue*, *garde* had become silent. This older pronunciation was never introduced into England, because most of the *gu*-words were pronounced with *w* (*warde* etc) in ONorman.

METRE AND STRESS.

609. The earliest ME verse, as seen in Lay.¹, is a continuation of a metrical revolution which began in the OE period, and went hand-in-hand with the decay of the old laws of alliteration and the gradual development of rhyme. Layamon's four-stress metre agrees with the old alliterative metre in the freedom with which unstressed syllables are omitted or added between the stresses and before the first stress, and in being based on a compromise between the natural stresses and syllable-quantities of the language; but while in the old metre the natural stress is the leading element, to which the quantity is always subordinated, the contrary is often the case in the ME four-stress metre, in which syllables that are quite stressless in ordinary speech can in verse take the full stress required by the metre. While a dissyllable like *sune*, with the stress-syllable short, has only the metrical value of a mono-

¹ M. Trautmann: Ueber den vers Lazamon's (Anglia, ii. 153).

syllable, as in the old metre, a similar word with the first syllable long, such as *sunne*, is allowed to take a metrical stress on each syllable, as is shown not only by the structure of the verse, but also by rhymes such as *wes* (= *wæs*): *londe*s. In such cases as these—which are especially frequent at the end of the line—the long syllable took an extra prolongation, so as to fill up part of the time of the following one. The following are types of this metre as employed by Lay.:

þa ·cōm him ·tō an ·hende ·cniht.
 bī ·us hē ·sende ·wōrd ·pē.
 ·Arþur ·is þe ·kenneste¹ ·mon.
 ·ofte ·wes þe ·drake ·buven.
 mid ·seolvre ·and mid ·gōl·de.
 ·þeines ·wunder ·blī·þe.

This metre is identical with the OHG one of Otfried, which was based on the late Latin hymn metres.

610. The first to employ a strictly syllabic metre was Orm. His metre consists of pairs of half-verses, the first having eight, the second seven syllables with a regular alternation of strong and weak stress, the first half-verse beginning with a weak and ending with a strong stress, the second beginning and ending with a weak stress, the last syllable but one of the second half-verse being always long:

annd ·brōþerr ·mīn ī ·Godess ·hūs
 ȝēt ·ō þe ·þrid[d]e ·wīse.

Such a word as *faderr* never occurs at the end of a line in O.

611. This metre was probably originally simply a doubling of the older four-stress line, the regular alternation of weak and strong stress afterwards depriving the last syllable of the second half-verse of its metrical stress.

612. As in the later poetry, weak final *e* is elided before a vowel or *h*, as in *forr lufe off Crīst*.

613. In the interior of a verse naturally weak syllables often take the metrical stress, in order to secure the regular alternation of strong and weak stress, as in

aff·terr þe ·flæshess ·kīnde.

614. In lME the lengthening of the vowels in such words

¹ = *kēneste*.

as *nāme*=OE *nama* led to the abandonment of the earlier quantitative restrictions. But Chaucer still retains part of Orm's freedom of stress. He throws forward the stress to any naturally unstressed syllable containing a full vowel, as in *māk'ing*, *bod'y*, *whil'om*, and, of course, on to the half-stressed second element of a compound, as *brim'stōn*. But he never throws the stress on to the weak *e* of such words as *after*, *nāme*. Throwing back of the stress, as in *uncoup* for the usual *uncouþ* is, on the other hand, rare.

615. Chaucer's metre seems to show that the nominal prefixes *al-*, *mis-*, *un-*, which took the stress in OE, had now thrown it forward, as in *al'mighty*, *mis'deed*, *un'reste*, *un'kynde*. *bī-* still keeps its stress in *bīword*, but elsewhere it loses its stress, probably by analogy of the stressless *be-* in *beginnen* etc, as in *bi'hēste*. The old separable compound verbs also throw their stress forward by the analogy of the inseparable *forgiven* etc, as in *up'rise*, *out'ride*.

QUANTITY.

Besides the indirect evidence of the metre and the laws of sound-change, ME quantity is in many cases determined by the direct evidence of the spelling.

616. The most thoroughgoing attempt to mark the quantity consistently is that of O. In this text every consonant that is final or followed by another cons. is doubled after a short vowel, as in *þatt*, *crisstenndōm*, *inn*=OE *inn*, *in*. This shows that the OE distinction between *in* and *inn* must have been lost in pronunciation as well as in writing, so that all final cons. were lengthened after a short vowel, as in MnE. Such spellings as *ic amm*, *scipp*=*eom*, *scip* occur already in Du., and many examples might be quoted from later texts. Ld has *namm* prt, *ielt* 'yet' etc; *godd* occurs in Lay., Jul., GE, CM. The opposite tendency is to shorten long cons. after a long vowel; and so double final cons. came to be associated with preceding short vowels, and single cons. with long ones in writing as well as in speech. There are isolated traces in OE of Orm's doubling of a cons. before another cons. in such

spellings as *folce*, *illce* (Smith's Bede), where, however, the doubling may really indicate cons. length. In *effter* (Jul., Ay.) the doubling of the *f* may mean voicelessness. That Orm's doubling did not mean cons. length, but had been reduced to an abstract symbolization of vowel-length, as in MnE and Gm, is clear from his extension of it to unstress syllables, as in *brōþerr*, for already in OE double cons. are shortened after an unstress vowel, whether long or short (409), additional ME examples being afforded by such spellings as *leofmones* 'lemman's' = OE *lēofmannes*, *meinfule* = OE *māgenfulla* in Jul., *sunfule* = *synnfulle* in AR. Where the cons. is followed by a vowel, as in *sune* = OE *sunu*, it was not possible to double the cons., because it would then have been pronounced double, and *sune* would have been confounded with *sunne* 'sun.' That *sunne* was really pronounced with long or double *n* is proved by the metre, which allows *sunne* to come at the end of the verse, and rigorously excludes *sune* from that position.

617. Here, then, Orm's clumsy spelling breaks down completely, and he feels this himself, for he often marks the shortness of the vowel in such words as *sune* with a (˘), as in *tākenn*, *nāme*, *chēle* = OIcel. *taka*, OE *nama*, *cēle*. Often, too, he marks length with the old accent, as in *lāre* = OE *lār*, which he often doubles, or even trebles, especially before *t*, as in *út*.

618. The old accent is rare elsewhere in eME. It occurs, for instance, in the Proverbs of Alfred (Oxford ms), as in *iléred*, *démen*, *séé*. KS has *hóót* = *hūteþ*, and the anomalous *ueréé* = OE *fýre* dat.

619. The OE doubling of long vowels occurs sporadically in eME, and becomes very common in lME, first in North. and then in Sth, being strongly developed in Wicl. and Ch. The doubling is carried out most regularly in monosyllables such as *stoon*, *deed* = OE *stān*, *dǣd*, *dēad*, but also medially, as in *keene*, *oother*. Doubling before cons.-groups is frequent, as in *boord*, *foond* = OE *bord*, *fand*. *i* and *u* are hardly ever doubled in lME, to avoid graphic confusion.

Quantity is also indicated by the use of the digraphs *ea* etc (599).

620. Orm's doubling of final cons. is found in other ME texts as well, but only occasionally, single final consonants being the rule, as in *al*, *man* = OE *eall*, *mann*.

621. In eME short vowels, as we have already seen (616), retained their original quantity before single cons., the cons. being lengthened finally in a stressed syllable, OE *nama*, *in*, *inn* appearing in eME as *name*, *in(n)*, *in(n)*, the OE double cons. before vowels being kept, as in *sunne*.

622. In lME short vowels before single cons. followed by a vowel were lengthened ('new-longs'), *name* becoming *nāme*, the combination short vowel + double cons. being kept, as in *sunne*, which even in Ch is not allowed to rhyme on *sone* = OE *sunu*. The lengthening in *name* etc is proved not only by the evidence of MnE, but also by doublings, as in *byfoore*, and rhymes such as *hope* : *grobe* = OE *hopian*, *grāpian*.

623. The high vowels *i* (and OE *y*), *u* are never lengthened : *writen* ptc, *dide*, *sune* = OE *writen*, *dyde*, *sunu*, except, of course, where they had been lowered before the lME period, as in *evel* = OE *yfel*.

624. Short vowels in final stressed syllables (which were generally monosyllables) could not be lengthened, because the following cons. had been already lengthened in eME : *smal*, *paḥ*, *staf*, *swan*, *blak*, *sad*, *glad*, *sap*, *troh*, *god* = OE *smæl*, *pæḥ*, *stæf*, *swan*, *blæc*, *sæd*, *glæd*, *sæp*, *trog*, *god*. So also the preterites *gaf*, *spak*, *brak*, *sat*, *bad* kept their vowels short, as proved by such rhymes as *yaf* : *staf* in Ch, the MnE *gave*, *spake*, *brake* being due to the analogy of the long vowels of the infinitive, whence also *gave* got its *v*; *sat* has kept its vowel short because the infin. is *sitten* with a short vowel.

625. Apparent exceptions to these laws are mainly due to the ME form being taken not from the OE base, but from some oblique case or derivative. Thus the short vowels in *narwe*, *falwe*, *gelwe* point to the OE inflected *nearw(e)*, *fealw-*, *geolw-*. OE *ealu* has gen. *aloḥ*, not **ealwes*, and hence its vowel is regularly lengthened in ME : *ale*. *bale* and *mele* from OE *bealu*, *melu*, gen. *bealwes*, *melwes* are exceptions; probably these words were but seldom used in an inflected form.

626. Many OE neuters with short root-syllable take a final

e in ME, thus OE *gebed* 'prayer' appears in O. as *bēde* = MnE *bead*, the OE pl *gebedu* being apparently taken for a masc. or fem. sg like *medu* 'mead,' *caru*. Hence the long vowels in the lME *dale*, *gate* (*gate*), *blade*, *bede*, *hole*, *cole* = the OE neuters *dæl*, *gæt*, *blæd*, *gebed*, *hol*, *col*. *hol* and *col* also occur, and O. has *zocc* against MnE *yoke* = OE *zeoc*. Many neuters have only the short forms: *baþ*, *glas*, *chaf*, *blak*, *fat* (*vat*), *broþ*, *lot*, *kot* = OE *bæþ*, *glæs*, *cæf*, *blæc*, *fæt*, *broþ*, *hlot*, *cot*.

627. The lengthening in the adj *lame* is due to the OE weak form *lama*, that in *late* to the OE adv *late* (*læt* being the OE adj).

628. The fluctuation between short and long vowel in *wel* and *get* is OE (387).

629. Medial shortness before a single cons. is preserved in lME before certain endings ('back-shortening'), but with many exceptions, and fluctuation in some words:

-*er*: *hamer*, *slameren*, *water*, *fader*, *feter*, *oter*, *coper*. Exceptions: *aker*, *taper*, *over*. The true ME compar. *later* is preserved in MnE *latter*, *later* being a new formation from *late*. MnE (*raaðer*) and vulg. (*reiðer*) points to a lME *raþer* and *rāþer* = OE *hraþor*.

-*el*: *shakel*, *sadel*, *watel*, *netele*, *hovel*. Exceptions: *navele*, *cradel*, *mapel* (= OE *mapulder*), *stapel*, *wesele*, *erel* (from OE *yfel*, lKt *evel*).

-*en*: *seven*, *rekenen*, *soden*, *troden*. Exceptions: *raven*, *even*, *benepen*, *stolen*, *cloven*. The -*en* of the infin. does not shorten, as in *bapien*, *speken*, because of the analogy of the pres. forms *i speke* etc.

-*ing*. *hering*.

-*i* (= OE -*ig*): *mani*, *peni*, *bodi*, *popi*.

630. Some of these back-shortenings may be explained by inflectional forms in which the vowel is followed by two cons., as in Orm's *seffne*, but to many of the words this does not apply. It will be observed that the endings are all vowels or vowel-like cons., and the real explanation probably is that the lengthening was shifted from the root vowel to the ending. Final *iz* in *maniz* was long according to Orm's spelling. Lengthening weak *e* alone or followed by an un-

vowellike cons. was less easy and natural, and hence the lengthening was thrown on the root-vowel in such words as *name*, *mete*, *nose*, *staves*, *naked*, with few exceptions.

631. The same influences which preserve vowel-shortness in IME sometimes shorten long vowels, as in *laper* from OE *lēapor* through **lēper*. The shortening in MnE *sorry*, *silly*, ME *eni*, *ani*=OE *sārig*, *gesālig*, *ānig* may be due to the -i.

632. Long vowels are regularly shortened in ME before two cons., except, of course, before those cons.-groups which lengthen short vowels (635). Thus O. has *wis* 'wise' but *wissdōm* 'wisdom,' *dēmenn* prt *demnde*, *drædenn* ptc *forrdredd* =OE *fordrædd*, *hālīg* 'holy' pl *hallghe*, vb *hallghenn* 'hallow.' So also in *lasse* comp., *wesste* 'desert,' adj, *blosstme*, *softe* = OE *læssa*, *wēste*, *blōstme*, *sōfte*. The shortenings in *naddre* (*neddre* O.), *udder*, *fodder* from OE *nēdre*, *ūder*, *fōdor* are due to the later OE doubling: *nēddre* etc (410), whence also the shortening in comparatives, as in Chaucer's *gretter*, *derre*, *depper*, pos. *grēt*, *dēr*, *dēp*=OE *grēat*, *dēor*, *dēop*.

633. Length is, however, often kept before *st*, as in Orm's *Crist*, *læst* superl., *æst* (=OE *ēast*), *prē(o)st*, *brē(o)st*.

634. Shortenings, and exceptional retention of shortness in IME, are sometimes the result of want of stress, as in *us* (*uss* O.), from which some texts have the emphatic *ous* = *ūs*, MnE *have* (*hæv*) by the side of *behave* (*bi'heiv*).

635. The OE lengthenings before vowellikes + cons. are kept up in ME, but with certain restrictions. The most important of these is, that the second cons. must be voiced: vowels are never lengthened before *nc*, *nt* etc, O. writing *drannc*, *drinnkenn*, *stunnt*, *sallt*, *hellpenn* etc. Lengthening is also regularly barred by back-shortening: thus O. writes *āld*, but *allderrmann*, *elldre* cp, *chīld*, but pl *chilldre*. The -en of the ptc has, however, no back-shortening influence: cp *sīngenn*¹, *fīndenn* with *sūngenn*, *fūndenn*. The length both of the infin. and ptc is really due to the influence of the monosyllabic preterites *fānd* etc. Those verbs which have no monosyllabic prt keep their vowels short throughout: *brīngenn* (prt *brohhte*), *wīnndwenn*, *senndenn*, *wennndenn*, which last sometimes has a

¹ The following examples are from O., unless some other reference is given.

single *n*, which may be a mere error. *blendenn* 'blind' has a long vowel by the analogy of *blīnd*. *stann denn* has a short vowel because its prt *stōd*, though monosyllabic, does not end in *nd*. The older forms of such a verb as *findenn* were, therefore, **finndenn*, *icc finde*, *fānd*, **funndenn*. In spite of the length in such words as *ende*, *tūnge*, there seems to have been some tendency to shorten before a following unstress or half-stress syllable independently of back-shortening: *winndeclūt*, *anndsware*, *grunndwall* by the side of *grūnd*, *gonndhallf*, but the three last may be the result of the triple cons. group. The shortening in *annd* is certainly, and that in *shollde*, *wollde* probably, the result of stress-lowering. The ptc *seund* shortens by analogy of the inf. The following are full examples from O.:

rl: *eorl*, *cherl*. Back-shortening: *barrlāz*.

rp: *e(o)rpe*. Back-shortening: *forrperr*, *mirrprenn*. Exceptions: *wurrp*, *norrp* etc.

rn: *bærnenn*, *e(o)rnnenn*, *lernenn*, *stirne* adj, *ge(o)rnnenn*, *corn*. Exceptions: *berrne* 'barn,' *turrnenn*, *porrn*.

rd: *hirde*, *sweerd*, *birde* (= OE *gebyrd*), *hord*, *word*, *bord*. Back-shortening: *girrdell*. Exceptions: *harrd*, *gerrde*.

ld: *ald*, *haldenn*, *salde* prt, *kald*, *talde* prt, *bald*, *wilde*, *milde*, *child*, *seldenn*, *weldenn* 'wield,' *feld*, *geldenn*, *gildenn* vb, *gold*. Back-shortening: *allderrmann*, *childdre* pl, *elldre* cp, *shulldre*. Exceptions: *shollde*, *wollde*.

ng: *lang*, *hwang*, *sang* sb, *amang*, *ping*, *singenn*, *springenn*, *zung*, *sungenn*, *sprungenn*, *tunge*, *king*. Back-shortening: *anngrenn*, *enn-glissch*, *hunngerr*. Exception: *brinnenn*.

nd: *han(n)d*, *land*, *fand* prt, *bandess* pl, *wind*, *findenn*, *bindenn*, *blind*, *ende*, *wen(n)denn*, *blendenn*, *hund*, *sund* adj, *wunde*, *wundenn*, *fundenn*, *grund*, *minde*, *kinde* sb. Back-shortening: *hanndlenn*, *unnderr*, *hundredd*, *wunnderr*. Exceptions: *annd*, *anndsware*, *han(n)d*, *stann denn*, *winndeclūt*, *winndwenn*, *seundenn*, *seund* ptc, *wen(n)denn*, *gonndhallf*.

mb: *lamb*, *wambe*, *camb*, *climbenn*, *dumb*. Back-shortening: *timmbredd* ptc.

636. There are other combinations of voiced cons. with a preceding vowellike (*r* and *l*), which never lengthen:

rg: *birrgenn* vb 'bury.'

rf: *herrfesst*.

rm: *arm, berrme, wurrm, forrme*.

lgh: *folghenn, swolghenn* 'swallow.'

lf: *hallfe* pl.

lm: *allmess*.

637. The eME lengthenings described above are confirmed for lME by Ch spellings such as *queerne* = OE *cweorn*, *hoord*; *cold*; *boond* sb, *bounden*; *doumb*, the back-shortenings by *under* etc.

638. The Ch spellings *yong*, *songe* ptc, *tonge* etc show that the older lengthenings had been shortened again before *ng*. This was, perhaps, the result of (ng) having been reduced to simple (ŋ) finally, as in MnE.

639. The lengthening of final cons. in strest syllables (621) was sometimes carried—in the form of doubling—into the inflected or derived forms, especially in the case of words which very frequently occurred in the uninflected form. In Ch *God* has gen. *Goddess*, and *ship* has pl *shippes*. *whal* 'whale' inflects *whalles* in North. and NWML.

640. Doubling of medial *m* is very general even in eME in *summe* pl, which occurs in Lay., AR, GE, Wicl. etc. This doubling does not appear to be due to the uninflected *sum*, for it appears also in *utnummen* (AR), *comme* (KS) = OE *cuman*. Doubling of *n* is general even in the earliest ME in *unnæpe* 'scarcely' = OE *unēape*, which may, however, be the result of some attempt to associate the unfamiliar root-word with *nēd* 'need.' Other examples are *wunnunge* (AR) *wonned* (Ch) = OE *wunode*.

For the shortening of double cons. in unstrest syllables see 616.

VOWELS.

641. In treating of the ME sounds in detail, it will be convenient to use diacritics to supplement the defective distinctions of the mss. These are (˘) and the marks added in *ε* and *ø*, with which the reader is already familiar, *ε* being, however, used in the value of OE *æ* = ʌ, *ē*, *ō* = group-lengthened and new-long *e* and *o*, *ū* = *u* with the value of (u), *ü* = *u* with

the value (y). The best type of fully developed eME is afforded by AR, whose language preserves many archaic features lost in O. The following is the vowel-system of AR, the corresponding sounds of O. being added in parentheses in cases of difference; those diphthongs which are not developed in O. being marked *:

a, ɛ (a), ȝ (a)	i	e, eo	u, ū (i)	o
ēi (ai)		ei		oi
au				*ou
ā	ī	ē, ēo	ū, ū (i)	ō, ȝ (ā)
ē		ēi	*ūi	
ēi		ēu		*ōu, *ȝu

a, ɛ, ȝ.

642. The most marked of the ME vowel-changes—as far as the stressed vowels are concerned—is the smoothing of the old diphthongs *ea*, *eo*, *ēa*, *ēo*, a change which—with isolated exceptions—was fully carried out already in OTr in all the dialects except Kt, which preserves the old diphthongs throughout the ME period. These ME smoothings keep the quantity of their originals. *ea* was smoothed into short *æ*, OE *ea* and *æ* being thus levelled under the latter sound, which in AR is written *e*: *bep*, *ep̄ter*, *het* = OE *bæp*, *æfter*, *hæt*; *ert*, *scherp* = OE *eart*, *scearp*. In the earliest Sth texts *ea*, which in AR is restricted to the long sound, is written also—interchanging with *e*—for the short *ɛ*: *beap*, *feader*, *feder* = OE *bæp*, *fæder*. In Ld *æ*, *e*, *ea*, *a* are written almost at random: *wæs*, *wes*, *weas*, *was*, *hæfde*, *hefde*, *heafde*, *hafde*. So also in Lay. *eo* for *ea* in *weorþ* (Ld) prt, *weorþ* (Jul. = *wep̄* AR) seems to be due to the influence of the *w*. *a* for *ɛ* is rare in eSth, except that in AR it is regular after *w*, as in *water*, *hwat*, *ward* = earlier *we(a)ter*, *hwet*, *weard*, OE *wæter*, *hwæt*, *weard*. *a* in other words, such as *blak* (AR), may have been taken from the OE inflected forms *blacu* etc. It is also possible that *a* was sometimes a Fr way of writing the broad *ɪ*. *ɛ* survives into lME in Kt; thus Ay. has *wes*, *hedde*, *vet* = OE *wæs*, *hæfde*, *fæt*. Elsewhere *ɛ* became *a* even before the end of the eME period. In O. the

change is carried out completely: *wass*, *haffde*, *fatt*, old *æ* surviving only in group-lengthenings (670).

643. Old *a* is kept in eSth in such words as *varen*, *haveþ*, *makien*, *habben* = OE *faran*, *hafap*, *macian*, *habban*. The *ɛ* in *glēdien* by the side of *gladien*, *beapien* (Jul.) = OE *gladian*, *bapian*, is probably due to *glēd*, *bēþ* = OE *glæd*, *bæþ*. *a* is constant in eSth and general ME *am*, where the *a* is a weakening of *eo* (442). So also *a* is a weakening of *eo* and *ēo* in eSth *ha* 'she,' 'them' = OE *hēo*, *hare* 'their,' *ham* 'them' = OE *heora*, *heom* (444). *a* as a shortening of OE *ā* is eSth and general ME in such words as *halwen* (*hallzhenn* O.), *garlĕk* = OE *hālġian*, *gārlēac* (Angl. -lēc).

644. In *chaffare*, *chapman* = OE **cēapfaru*, *cēapmann*, *a* is a shortening of *ĕ* through *ɛ*. OE *æ* is shortened in the same way, as in *lasse*, *naddre* = OE *læssa*, *næddre* (non-WS *nēddre*), for which *lesse*, *neddre* also occur (671).

645. The Southern OE *ea* before *l*-combinations is preserved only in Kt in the form of (ja): *iald* in KS, *healde*, *yald*, *yhyealde* in Ay., which also has such forms as *alle*, *boldeliche*, agreeing with those of the other dialects, which all have the Anglian *a*: eSth *al*, *half*, *salt* = OE *all*, *half*, *sallt*, agreeing with their retention of the Angl. *ā* before *ld* (694). *Ld* fluctuates between *ea*, *æ* and *a*: *eall*, *æll*, *all*, *half*. Here the *ea* is probably due to literary WS, and the *æ* to the usual graphic confusion between *ea* and *æ*.

646. Old *ɔ* is kept in eSth, as in *ponkien*, *moni*, *nome* = OE *poncian*, *mōnig*, *nōma*. So also in Ay. in some words: *ponki*, but *many*, *name*. In Ld the unrounding of *ɔ* is completely carried out: *man*, *mani*, *fram*. So also in O. In Ch *ɔ* survives only in the group-lengthenings *lōng*, *lōnd* etc (694), and in *from*, which seems to owe its *o* to the analogy of the prepositions *of*, *on* or to *frō* from Scand. *frā*; elsewhere Ch has *a* and the new-long *ā*: *man*, *many*, *nāme*. In Wml *o* was kept, as is shown by such rhymes as *mon*: *on* in Harl. and Aud., although Aud. writes also *man*, and rhymes *schame*: *blame*. We have seen (416) that in OMerc. *ɔ* before *ng* became *u* in unstressed syllables; in Wml this change was carried out in stressed syllables as well before *nk* and *ng*, as shown by such rhymes as *ponke*

vb : *gef i sönke* (OE *sunce*) in Harl., and the spellings *lung* adv (OE *longe*), *sung* sb in Aud.

i

647. ME *i* is the regular continuation of OE *i*, as in *smiþ*, *writen* ptc, and is not subject to new-lengthening in LME (623). It represents also the unrounding of OE *y* in North. and MI (663). eSth has *i* = OE *y* in some words, especially after *k* in *king* (but *cünne* = OE *cynn*), *kinewurþe*, *kimeþ* 'comes' (*cumeþ* in AR with the *u* of the infin.) = OE *cyng*, *cynewierþe*, *cymeþ*, also in *drihtin* = OE *dryhten*.

648. *i* from *e(o)* before front cons. is general ME before *ht* (ŋ), as in *liht* 'lux,' 'brilliant,' 'easy,' *briht*, *fihten* (*fehten* Jul.) = OE *le(o)ht* (*lēoht*), *beorht*, *-breht* (511), *fe(o)htan*. Other cases are dialectal: *siggen*, *wri(c)chede* 'wretched' from OE *sęċġan*, *wreċċa*.

649. There is eMnE evidence of a distinction between close and open *i*—probably *ɪ*, *i*—dependant on the nature of the following cons. (786), and it is very probable that this distinction was already developed in LME. But, as in IWS all *ɪ*s were rounded into *y*, it is evident that all the remaining *i*s must have been close *ɪ*s, and this must have been the state of things in eME also—at least in Sth.

e

650. ME *e* corresponds regularly to OE *e* and *ę*, as in *west*, *helpen*, *eten*; *rest*, *wenien*, *mete* = OE *west*, *helpan*, *etan*; *reſt*, *wenian*, *męte*. That OE *e* [was levelled under OE *ę* in ME is proved by the identical treatment of the new-longs *ēten*, *mēte* in LME and eMnE, in which latter the vowel of *eat* and *meat* was still kept apart—in pronunciation as well as spelling—from the *ee* (*ie*) of *meet*, *feeld* (*field*) = OE *gemetan*, *fēld*, the *ē* of the latter word being a IOE lengthening of earlier *e* = [(395). This broadening of OE *e* is also shown by such spellings as *æten*, *wæl*, *sælf* = OE *etan*, *wel*, *self* in Ld.

651. The new long *ē* (including, probably, Orm's *e* in *ende*, 670) is still kept apart from the *ę* of *sę* = OE *sǣ* in some MnE dialects, and the two sounds must have been distinct in ME as well. If *ę* was *ɹ*, as in OE, then *ē* may have been

either ʃ or ʃʰ; if *ɛ* had been narrowed to ʃ in eME, then the lME *ɛ* can only have been ʃʰ. Cp the evidence bearing on *ɔ* (665).

652. *e* is often the result of group-shortening of OE *ē*, as in *mette*=*gemette*; also of *ǣ* and *ēa*, though here it is represented also by *a* (644): *slepte*, *clensen*, *bireft*=*slǣpte* (non-WS *slēpte*), *clānsian*, *berēafod*.

653. In *here*=OE *hire* the lowering of the *i* seems to be the result of want of stress.

654. *e*=OE *y* is regular in Kt, as in *zenne*, *dede*=OKt *senn*, *dede* (478), except in *king*. *evel*=OE *yfel* is Wml as well as Kt.

eo

655. In Ld the OE *eo* had been merged in the open *e*, as is shown by such spellings as *erthe*, *iærnde* by the side of *geornde*, *earl*, *eorl*, *eo* itself being written not only for OE *eo*, but also for OE *ē*, as in *feon*=*fenn*, *seotte* prt. In O. *eo* is written pretty regularly for OE *eo*, the *o* being, however, often omitted, so that such spellings as *heore* and *here*, *weorrbenn* and *werrbenn*, *heoffne* and *heffne* interchange constantly. In one place O. writes *heðre* to show that the diphthong is short.

656. In eSth *eo* is regularly written, not only in such words as *heore* (also *hare* 643), *eorpe*, *heovene*, but also—in agreement with Merc. against lWS—in *weole*, *weoreld* (also *world*), *cleopede*=lWS *wela*, *woruld*, *clipode*, the *eo* being, however, in some words confined to the earliest texts: thus AR has *speken* against *spoken* in Jul. *eo* is occasionally written for OE *ē*; thus Jul. has *unweomet*, *bicheorren*=OE *ungewemmed*, *becerran*. Jul. also has *eo* for Fr *e* in *feovereles* 'February.'

657. In other eSth texts we find remarkable fluctuations. In Hom. *eo* is often written *o*, as in *boren*, *horte*, *solf*=OE *be(o)ran*, *heorte*, *se(o)lf*; such spellings as *heovene*, *hevene* also occurring. This *o* is also common in ON, where it rhymes on old *eo* or *e*, as in *vorre*: *sterre*=OE *feorran*: *steorra*, *hovene*: *stevne*=OE *heofon*: *stefn*, *bore* 'ursum': *spere*=OE *be(o)ran*: *spere*. The rhyme *storne*: *orfe* is an exceptional one on OE *o*, which is perhaps due to some change of pronunciation (**eorf* for *orfe*?). There is also a rhyme of *eo* on *ü*: *honne*: *künne*=OE *heonon*: *cynn*. This rhyme-fluctuation between *e* and *y*

seems to point to the intermediate sound (œ), of which *o* is a common OFr symbol. In WML (Harl.) we find such spellings as *hūere*=OE *heora*, *huerte* by the side of *herte*, *heovene*. PPI² has simple *u*, as in *hure*, *churl*, *durk*. So also AllP in *urpe*, *burn*=OE *beorn*, the form *buyrn* indicating probably a long vowel. It is evident that in WML old *eo* had passed into a simple sound resembling *ü*, which again points to (œ). Conversely, we find *eo* written for *ü* in Lay.², as in *leore* for the *lure*=OE *lyre* 'loss' of the older text.

658. It is probable, therefore, that the change of *eo* into the *e* of LME (Chaucerian) *erthe*, *herte* was not direct (by dropping of the *o*), but through (œ), itself the result of convergence of the two elements of the old diphthong. This (œ) was then gradually unrounded, a process which, to judge from the orthography and rhymes, must have begun early in Sth. What the precise value of *eo* is in O., is doubtful. It is possible that he regarded it as a half-traditional symbol of close *e*—the sound into which *eo* would first develop—as shown by the analogy of *ēo* (681).

659. In Kt *eo* is preserved as a diphthong, but in the form of (je): *yerpe*, *lyerne*, *wyefde*=OE *eorpe*, *leornian*, *weofod* 'altar.' Simple *e* also occurs, as in *erplich*, *sterven*. This (je) seems to point to an intermediate (jœ).

660. One result of the OE variation between *weo*- and *wo*- (426) was that some words beginning with original *wo*- changed it to *weo*-. Thus Lay. has *weord*, *weolkne* by the side of *word*, *wolkne*; hence our *welkin*. The shortened *wō*- in *wōdnes-dai* underwent the same change, giving our present *wednesday*.

u

661. *u* is the regular equivalent of OE *u*, as in *sune*, and is not subject to new-lengthening. In some words, such as *us* (also *ous*=*ūs*) it is a shortening of OE *ū*. The analogy of *i* makes it probable that LME distinguished between narrow *ɪ* and wide *ɪ̃*.

662. *u* in some words is a backing of *ü*, the change being clearly shown by the spellings with *o*, as in *möche*, *söch*=eSth *müche*(l), *swüch*. These spellings appear already in Lay.²

This *u* was, of course, first developed in Sth. (and Wml), but it afterwards spread to the other dialects, even Scotch having *u* in *muckle*.

ü

663. OE *y* was completely unrounded in Wml even in the OTr period, as is proved by such spellings as *birien* by the side of *byrien*, *sinnes*, *dide*=OE *byrgan*, *synna*, *dyde* in Ld. O. has *ummbe*=OE *ymbe*, but the *u* is probably due to the Scand. *um*. Except in such cases of analogy O. has only *i*: *sinne*, *dide*.

664. In Sth the old *y* was preserved unchanged under the disguise of *u*, not only in such words as *sünne* (which never rhymes on *sunne* 'sol'), *düde*, but also in specifically IWS forms such as *müchel*, *hwüch*, *süllen*, *schüppen*=IWS *mycel*, *hwylc*, *syllan*, *scyppan*, eWS *micel*, *hwelc*, *sellan*, *scieppan*; *süggē*=OE *seggan* also occurs. *ü* was also kept in Wml, as in *cüsse*: *blisse* (Harl.), *büggē* (Harl., PPl.)=OE *bycgan*. Even Aud. still writes *gulte*=OE **gyltig*. *ü* survives as a variant of *i* (and Kt *e*) in some Ch forms, such as *bürien*, *büsy*, whose (y)-sound is confirmed by eME evidence, together with the present pronunciation (*beri*, *bizi*), which shows that the *ü* in these words cannot have been made into *u*.

o

665. answers to OE *o*, as in *on*, *folk*, *cole*, *bodien*=OE *on*, *folc*, *col(u)*, *bodian*. New-long *ó* in *cóle*, *bódien* is still distinguished from *ō*=OE *ā* in some of our dialects, and is kept apart from old *ō* in standard E. both in spelling and pronunciation: cp *coal* (*koul*) with *cool* (*kuwl*)=OE *cōl*. eSth *o* must also have been distinct from the *ɔ* of *mɔn* etc, for this sound was afterwards unrounded into *a*. eME *o* must, therefore, have had a sound between the OE *ɔ* and the broad *ɔ*—nl *ɔ*, which is the present Gm sound of short *o* in *stock* etc. In lME the three sounds *ó*, *ō* and *ō* were, therefore, probably *ɔ*†, *ɔ*† and *ɔ*† resp. The MnE dialects seem to point to *ɔ*† as a later sound of *ó*.

Long Vowels: *ā*.

666. OE *ā* was rounded into *ō* in Sth and Kt. The earliest texts, such as Jul., still write *a*: *hwa*, *laverd*, *gast*, but the form *wumme*=*wā(is) mē*! presupposes the rounded vowel, and makes it probable that the *a* is a traditional spelling, and in *so* by the

side of *swa* the *o* is fully established. AR writes *o* and *oa*, as in *hwo*, *hwoa*, *mo(a)re*. *oa* also appears in Lay. (*ihoaten*), GE (*loar*) and elsewhere.

667. Hence *ā* occurs only in Fr words in eSth, as in *dāme*. In lME *ā* appears as a new-lengthening of OE *a*, as in *hāre*, *nāme*, *mākien* = eME *hare*, *name*, *makien*, OE *hara*, *nama*, *macian*.

668. In Ld and O. OE *ā* is preserved; thus O. has *hwā*, *lāferd*, *gāst*. In North. *ā* has been preserved unrounded up to the present day in the Scotch dialects, where it has been levelled under new-long *ā*; North. texts have *o* only in a few cases of apparent borrowing from Sth, as in *so*, *lord* by the side of *swa*, *laferd* in PC. The later MI texts show a remarkable fluctuation between the North. *ā* and the Sth *ō*. Thus the EMI GE rhymes *woa*: *Evā*, *moal* (= *māl*): *natural* on the one hand and *gōn*: *on* (cp *on*: *dōn* in the same text) *sō*: *temptaciō* on the other. Even the Yorkshire TM rhymes *hāme*: *fāme* (Fr) and *mōre*: *befōre*. The NWMI AllP rhyme *māre*: *ī fāre*, *mōre*: *schōre*. In the MnE dialects the rounded vowel has prevailed. It is probable that the freedom of rhyme considered above was the result of the old *ā* being at first only slightly rounded.

ē

669. In lME no distinction is made in writing between *ē* and *ā*, both being written indiscriminately *e*, *ee*. In O. they are distinguished as *æ* and *e* with perfect regularity. In the earliest Sth *ea* is written pretty regularly for the open sound, but even in AR *e* is often written for *ea*. Great irregularity prevails in Ld.

ME *ē* is the regular representative of the common OE *æ* in all the dialects, and of OE *ēa* in all the dialects except Kt (679); thus to OE *sæ*, *læran*, *hæafod*, *hlæpan* correspond in O. *sæ*, *lærenn*, *hæfedd*, *læpenn*, in eSth *sea*, *learen*, *heaved*, *leapen*. Ld writes *meast*, *mest*, *bebead*, *bebæd* = OE *mæst*, *bebæd* etc.

670. Orm's *æ* also appears as a lengthening of OE *æ* (*ea*), as in *ærn*, *ærd* = OE *ærn* 'house', *eard* 'country'.

In *dærne* 'secret' it is a lengthening of OE *ē* (*dærne*, lWS *dyrne*), which in E. words such as *ende*, *sendenn* is written with simple *e*. In *gerrsalæm*, *Elysabæþ* it seems also to be a lengthening of OE *ē*—a lengthening which may have begun in OE itself.

671. The shortening of common OE \bar{a} appears in O. sometimes as *a*, sometimes as *e*:

a: *wraþþe*, *lasse*, *lassenn*, *laſſdīg*.

e: *flessh* (also *flæsh*), *clennsenn*, *ledde* prt, *spredd* ptc.

The regular shortening of OE \bar{a} in O. is evidently *a*. The *e* of *clennsenn* and *ledde* is really a shortening of \bar{e} (cp O.'s *clēne*, *lēdenn*, § 676), and the same may be the case with *spredd*, although the *r* would tend to preserve the \bar{a} (674). *flessh*, lastly, may owe its *e* to the following (originally) front cons. (733). The other EMI and North. texts have generally *e*. *lesse*, for instance, occurs in rhyme in North., GE, and TM. The earliest North. also has *lefdi* against the *a* of O. The *e* of eSth and Kt is ambiguous, but the evidence of the later texts—in which it becomes *a*—shows that it stands for \bar{e} . The ON rhymes *wranne*: *monne*, AR has *wrastlen*, RGI has *amti*, *laddre*. WMI also has *a*: *clad* in AllP, *lasse* in rhyme in Aud. Ch. generally has *a*, as in *ladi*, *ladde*, *wrastlen*. Sometimes he shows the EMI *e*, as in *lesse*, *lasse*, both forms occurring in rhyme.

6

672. represents the common OE \bar{e} in all the dialects, as in *hēr*, *mēde*, *kēne*=OE *hēr*, *mēd*, *cēne* (*cāne*). The Anglian \bar{e} =WS \bar{e} and *īe* (1WS \bar{y}) appears also in all the dialects to the exclusion of the WS forms, except that \bar{u} =1WS occurs in some of the extreme Western dialects (690); thus O. and Sth agree in such forms as *sēlīg*, *sēli*, *ēfenn*, *ēven*, *dēde*=nonWS *gesēlig*, *ēfen*, *dēd*, WS *gesēlig*, *āfen*, *dād*; *sēne*, *hērenn*, *hēren*=nonWS *gesēne*, *gehēran*, WS *gesēne*, *gehēran* (1WS *gesȳne*, *gehȳran*). Here, again, Ld shows great irregularity: *let*, *leot*, *læt* prt, *to geamene*, *atywede*=OE *lēt*, *tō gēmenne* (WS *īe*, \bar{y}), *ætēwde* (WS *īe*, \bar{y}), the last spelling being evidently a WS literary one.

ME \bar{e} in *fēld*, *shēld* is an OE (Mercian) lengthening of *e*. O. also has \bar{e} as a lengthening of OE \bar{e} (against *dærne* 670) in *be(o)ldenn* 'encourage', *weordenn* 'injure'=O Merc. *gebēldan*, *āwērdan* (1WS *gebyldan*, *āwyrðan*), where *eo*= \bar{e} (681).

673. In the following words O. has \bar{a} =Gmc and WS \bar{a} , *ea* in parentheses indicating a confirmatory eSth spelling:

(a) before *r*: *hær* (ea), *þær* (ea), *wærenn* prt, *hwær*, *fær*, *gær*, *bære* 'bier.' The only exception is that *gær* is sometimes written *ger*.

(b) after *r*: *stræte*, *ræd* (ea), *rædenn*, *drædenn*. *redenn*, *dredenn* also occur. *gredig* always has *e*, being the only complete exception. The rule is further confirmed by Sth *breap* and MnE *thread*.

(c) before *l*: *mæl*. *selig* has only *e*.

(d) after *l*: *læche*, *lætenn*, *blætenn*, *slæpenn*. The subst *slæp* has also *e*. No other exception.

(e) after *w*: *wæpenn*.

674. It is evident that in these words the *æ* is due not to any WS influence but to the low tone of the vowellikes *r*, *l*, *w*—influences which had already been partially developed in OE (449). In *spæche* by the side of *speche* and *dædbote* by the side of the uncompounded *dede* there is, however, no such influence, and these forms may really be WSaxonisms. It is remarkable that these *æs* are more developed in the Mercian O. than in the Saxon Sth dialect.

675. The shortenings of Angl. *ē* = WS *æ* show exclusively *e* in MI and North.: O. has *errude*, *redd* ptc, *dredd* ptc; *bleddre*, *stēppte*; *neddre*. Ch has *a* in *naddre*, *bladdre*, and has both *dred* and *drad* in rhyme. AR has *neddre*, *bleddre*, which probably means *ɿ*—the forerunner of Ch's *a*. It is uncertain whether the *e* of *blest* (Ay.) was long or short. GE and TM have *blast* in rhyme; this exception to the general rule may be due to the influence of the vb *blawen*.

676. In a few words O. has, on the other hand, *ē* for common OE *æ*, especially before *n*: *lenenn*, *menenn*, *clene* (but *clænnesse*). *æness* and *imæne* have *æ*. The other cases are: *del* (but *dæleinn*), *lefedd* ptc, *ledenn*. It will be observed that, except in the case of *lefedd*, all these *es* are followed by a point cons.

677. ME *ē* in all the dialects (with some exceptions in Lay. and Kt) also corresponds to the Angl. *c*-smoothings of OWS and OKt *ēa*, *ēo* (462, 465). Thus O. has *ēc*, *hēh*, *nēh*; *lēzhenn*, *flēzhenn* = OAngl. *ēc*, *hēh*, *nēh*; *lēgan*, *flēgan* (WS *ēac*, *hēah*, *nēah*; *lēogan*, *flēogan*). Orm's *eo* in *sēoc* by the side of *sēc*, *þē(o)s* 'thighs' may be a merely orthographic variation (681), aided by some tradition of WS orthography. The earliest Sth shows the same forms as O.: *ēke*, *hēh*, *flēhe* sb (AR¹). For the later developments *hēih*, *hīh* etc see 696. O. has exceptionally *æ*

= WS *ēa* before back cons. in some verbal forms—*dæh*, *flæh*—where they may be due to the analogy of such preterites as *bæd*=OE *bēad*, where the *æ* is regular.

678. In Kt the IOKt *ē*=OE *ȳ* is preserved, as in *wée* (KS), *ver* (Ay.)=OE *hwȳ*, *fȳr*.

679. The diphthongic *ēa* is preserved in Kt in the same spellings as the short *ea*: *great*, *diad*, *dyad*, *lyeave* (also *grat*, *belave* etc), probably with the value (jaa), although if the second element had been lengthened we should have expected **greet* etc.

680. In *scawen* (Ld)=OE *scēawian* the *e* seems to have been absorbed by the preceding front cons. (733), the length being shifted on to the *a*, our present *show* pointing to *schāwen*, although AR's *schawen* points to short *a*. O. has *ā*=*ēa* in *drah*=OE *drēag* 'suffered' and *lafe*=OE *gelēafa* 'belief'. Are these modifications of *ēa* or of later *ā*?

681. In Laud the old *ēo* had evidently been completely merged in *ē*, as shown by such spellings as *cesen*, *der*=OE *cēosan*, *dēor*, and, with the usual confusion between close and open vowels, *dær*, *eo* being also written for OE *ē*, as in *leot* prt. The treatment of *ēo* in the other texts is also quite parallel to that of *eo*. O. writes *preost*, *prest*, *deofless*, *defless*, AR writes *preost*, *deovel*=OE *prēost*, *dēofol*. O. also occasionally writes *eo* for *ē*, as in *dreofedd*=OE *gedrēfed* (*gedrēfed*), *Galileo*=*Galilee*. So also AR in *cheoken* 'cheeks'=OMerc. *cēcan* (WS *cēacan*).

682. The spellings *oe* and *o* are common in Hom. and ON. The latter has *joede*: *noede*=OE *pēode*: *nēde*, *ho*=*hēo* 'she'. Harl. has *seo*, *se* 'see': *mē*, *deor*, *duer*, *hue*, *he* 'she', *lure*=OE *hlēor* 'cheek'. PPI² has *duþ*, *buþ*=OE *dēoþ*, *bēoþ*. AllP have *bot*=*bēodeþ*; their *ho* 'she' probably=*hō* from **hjō* (685). These spellings point to a convergent smoothing into *ft* in Sth, *ft* in WML, the latter being preserved in the MnE *chuse* (*choose* is a very late half phonetic spelling) from OE *cēosan*. AR² writes *eo* for the Fr (œœ) in *proven*, where AR¹ has *pruvien*.

683. In Kt *ēo* is represented by the diphthongic (jee), probably from earlier (jœœ), as in *chiese*, *chyese*, *byeþ* pl, for which *byþ* etc also occurs. This diphthong also represents OKt *ē* in some words: *ihierde* 'hired'=OKt *gehērde* (nonKt *gehȳrde*) in KS, *hyer* adv, *ih(y)erd* 'heard' in Ay.

684. In O.'s *fourer*, Sth *vour*=OE *fēower* the *ē* seems to have been merged into the *o* by the influence of the two lip cons.

685. O.'s *ghō*=OE *heō* 'she' is the result of stress-shifting in weak syllables (442), the stages being *æ[ɪ, æ]†, æ[ɔ]†, ɔ†*. So also in the word *she* itself (733), and in *you, your*. OE *ēow, ēower* became (*joou, joouer*), whence, by the usual dropping of the initial glide, the eSth *ōu, ōuer*. O.'s *gūre* keeps the first half of the old diphthong, and changes the second half into *ū* by the analogy of the poss. prn of the 1st pers. (*ūre*). O. then makes **gōw* (or **gōw*) into *gūw* by the analogy of *gūre*.

i

686. answers both to common OE *ī*, as in *wīs, fīve*, and to the Angl. group-lengthened *ī* in such words as *chīld, sīngen, fīnden, clīmben*, *ī* before *ng* being shortened again in Ch, as in *syngen*.

For the *ī* in *hīh* etc see 696.

ū

687. answers to OE *ū*, as in *hūs, mūþ*, Ch *hous, mouth*, and to the Angl. group-lengthened *u* in such words as *sūngen, hūnd, dūmb*, the *ū* being shortened again before *ng* in Ch: *sōngen, hound, dōumb*.

For the *ū* in *fūel* see 696; for that in *gūre* see 685; and for the lME *ū* in *enough* see 721.

ȳ

688. The old *ȳ* was completely unrounded in EMl, as shown by such spellings as *for-pi, forr-pi, fir* in Ld and O.=OE. *for-hȳ, fȳr*.

689. In Sth and Wml it was preserved in the Fr spelling *u(i)*, as in *huiren* 'hire' (AR), *kupen* 'make known' (AR), *fur* (AR, Harl.), *fust* (Allp)=OE *hȳran, cȳþan, fȳr, fȳst*.

690. In Wml *ū* also represents lWS *ȳ*=Angl. *ē*. Thus PPI² has *huren* 'hear', *nudful* 'needful', which appear in AR etc in the Angl. forms *heren, neodful*.

For *ū* from *ēo* see 682.

691. The main source of *ū* in ME generally is the OFr *u* and *ui*, as in *cūre, fortune, dūc, frūt, frūit*, the latter spelling being the most usual. *ū* final or before a vowel became *eu* (*ēu*?) in

Ch, as shown by such spellings as *vertew*, *crewel* = *vertu*, *cruel*.
So also OFr *iu* in *eschue*, *eschewe* 'eschew'.

ō

692. answers both to common OE *ō*, as in *dō*, *mōne*, *gōd*, and to group-lengthened Angl. *o*, as in *wōrd*, *gōld*.

693. In North. *ō* was fronted to *f*, Fr *f* being levelled under the new sound, as shown by such rhymes as *sōne*: *fortōne* = *fortune*.

For the *ō* in *two* etc see 695.

ō̄

694. is the regular representative of OE *ā* in Sth, Kt and in later Ml (668), as in *mōre*, *hōm*, as also of group-lengthened Angl. *ā* in such words as *lōng*, *hōnd*, *cōmb*.

695. *ō̄* after *w* became *ō* in LME in most words, as in *twō*, *whō*, *wōmb*, as shown by the MnE pronunciation (831). *wōd* 'woad' is an exception.

Diphthongs

696. We have seen that the OE diphthongs disappeared in all the ME dialects except Kt, but their loss was supplied by new developments. All the common ME diphthongs are the result of various changes in the combination vowel + the following OE cons.: *w* (*f*), *h* (*c* and *ɔ*), open *g* *ɛ* and *ɝ* *o*. The combination vowel + *w* and of back vowel + back *h* and *g* yields a diphthong of the (au)-type, the combination front vowel + front *h* or *ɝ* yields a diphthong of the (ai)-type. Thus OE *dēaw*, *dohtor*, *dragan*; *hēh* (Angl.), *weȝ* appear in fully developed ME as *dēu*, *douhter*, *draven*; *hēih* (*hīh*), *wei*. It will be seen that there are two ways in which these diphthongs are developed: (1) by weakening of the cons. into a glide-vowel, as in *draven*; (2) by parasiting, as in *hēih*, where the glide from the [*ɪ* to the *ɔ* has developed into a full glide-vowel. The second process is generally the most primitive one, and it is sometimes doubtful—as in the case of *wei*—whether the second element of the diphthong is not really a parasite-vowel which has absorbed the original cons. rather than a weakening of this cons. The last stage in the development of the ME diphthongs is the absorption of the glide-vowel into the preceding

vowel—an absorption which is inevitable in the ME weakening of OE *ug* etc, as in *fūel* from OE *fugol* through *fuwel*. Sometimes this absorption is the result of the assimilative influence of the glide-vowel itself, as in *hīh* from *hēih*, where the *i* first drew up the preceding *ē* to *ī*, and was then absorbed by it.

697. As the combination vowel + *w* is in itself scarcely distinguishable from a diphthong of the (au)-type, and as the combination front vowel + *ɣ* had become almost—if not quite—a diphthong even in OE, it was natural to keep *w* and *g* as symbols of the second elements of diphthongs. This is done in O., which, at the same time, shows the development of the diphthongs in its most primitive stage. In O. *h* and back (open) *g*—which he writes *g**h*—do not develop parasites: *dohhterr*, *hēh*, *drazhenn*. The second elements of the (au) and (ai) diphthongs are expressed by *w* and *g* resp., which are doubled after short vowels, not only finally and before cons. but also between vowels: *clawwess* (=OE *clawa*), *dæw*; *wegg*, *legg* etc (=OE *geleǵd*). In these doublings between vowels the first cons. denotes the glide on to the vowel, the second that vowel itself (**clawwess*). The fact, however, that O. did not adopt the latter spelling shows the doubling was really a kind of phonetic fiction to enable him to mark the shortness of the preceding vowel. That *clawwess* meant practically nothing but *clawes* is further confirmed by O.'s spellings *aww* for Lt *au*, and *egg* for Scand. *ei*, as in *Awwstin* = *Au(gu)stin*, *heggenn* 'salute' = *heila*. In the ptcc *slagenn*, (*forr*)*legenn* = OE *slægen*, (*for*)*legen* the *g* is left undoubled. Conversely, it is sometimes doubled after a long OE vowel, as in *tweggenn* = *twēgen*. So also the *w* is doubled in *chewwenn* = OE *cēowan* against *ne(o)we* = OE (Angl.) *nēowe* etc. It is doubtful whether these doublings indicate real shortening of the preceding vowel, or are merely the result of confounding length of vowel with length of glide on to the second element; it seems, on the whole, most probable that these (as also *fowwerr*, *owwhar* = OE *fēower*, *ōhwēr*) are cases of back-shortening (629). The doubling of *g* after *i*, as in *drizge* = OE *drīge* is merely a way of marking the length of the vowel: *drizge* = *drīge*, or rather *drīe*. That *g* had been completely absorbed by a preceding *i* or *ī* is made probable by the occurrence

of *sige*=OE *sige* 'victory' at the end of the line (610) and the spelling *siggfasst*, as also by the insertion of *z* in such forms as *drīzcraft* 'sorcery'=OE *drīcræft*, *Zacarīze* by the side of *Zacarie*. Hence *iz* in *-iz* *-lig*, probably represented simple *i*: *haliz*=(*haalii*).

698. In the other eME texts—as also in later ME generally—the second elements of the diphthongs are represented by *i* and *u*, as in Lt and Fr. Already in Ld the Fr begins to prevail over the OE spelling: *dæges*, *dæi*; *fower*, *fæu*, *treuthe*. In eME retention of the cons. symbols often seems to indicate that the diphthong is not fully developed, but the revival of *w* in the lME combinations *aw* etc shows that the system of spelling carried out in the O. was never completely disused. In North. the consonantal spellings *egh* etc, as in *deghe*=*dēie* 'die', were kept up and revived, in order to avoid the ambiguity of *ai*, *ei* etc, where the *i* in North. had come to be a mere mark of length.

699. Diphthongs are occasionally formed by the development of a parasite-*i* before various front cons. besides *h* and *ȝ*. Thus AR has *leinten*, *acweinte*=OE *lēnēten*, *acwēnēte*. *sc* (733) has the same effect in *aische*, *waischen* (Wicl.)=OE *asce*, *wascan*.

ei (ai)

700. is the regular eSth representative of OE *æg*. Thus *dæg* appears in Laud as *dæg*, *dæig*, *dæi*, and *mæg*, *læg*, appear in Lay. as *mæi*, *leai*, *lei*. AR has generally *ei*: *dei*, *mei*, *lei*, *seide*.

701. In O. the first element has undergone its regular change into *a*: *dazz*, *mazz*, *lazz*. So also in *slagen*=*islein* (AR). This *ai* is still rare in AR (*dai*), but it occurs in Lay. (*saide*), being frequent in Lay.² (*may*), and it occurs even in Ld (*daies* gen.). The eSth *ai* is probably due to acoustic divergence rather than to the isolative change of *e* into *a*. This is confirmed by the fact that Kt, which otherwise preserves *e*, agrees with Ch and lME generally in having *day* etc.

702. Scand. *ei* (and *öy*) becomes *ai* finally, except in *pei*, as in Orm's *nazz*, *mazz*=Icel. *nei*, *mey* 'maid'. Lay. has *neai*, AR and North. *nai*, Ch *nay*. This change is against that of non-final Scand. *ei* into *egg*, *ei* (705). Was Scand. *ei* pronounced *ɛ* when final?

703. The eSth *eih* from OE *æh*, as in *seih*, *eikte* from Angl. *geæh*, *æhta* seems to have been *ei* rather than *ɛi*, for these words generally keep their *ei* in IME—*seigh* (*sig*), *eighte*, although *say* also occurs (in rhyme in Ch).

For the *ai* of *aische* etc see 699, 733.

ei

704. is the regular development of OE *eġ*, *ġġ*: thus OE *weg*, *gelegen*, *regen*, *ege* 'fear', *legde* appear in O. as *wegg*, *legenn*, *reggn*, *egge*, *leggde*, in AR as *wei*, *ileien*, *rein*, *ei*, *leide*. Orm's *seggde* (*seide* in AR) from OE *sægde* has taken its *e* from the pres. *seccgan*. Lay. has *seaide* pointing to OE *eġ*.

705. *ei* also represents unfinal Scand. *ei*, as in Orm's *þezgre*, *þezglenn*, *þezgtenn*=Icel. *þeira*, *heila*, *beila*, final Scand. *ei* exceptionally in *þezz* 'they', perhaps because it was unstressed.

706. In IME there is a tendency to confuse *ei* with *ai*, especially in North., where the oldest mss write *wai*, *thai*, *thair* etc. In Ch the distinction between *day* and *wey* is still kept up, but there is a tendency to confuse them, *ey* being oftener levelled under *ay* than vice-versa, thus we find *alwey* rhyming on *fey* (Fr), *pley* and *alway* rhyming on *day*, *abbay* (Fr). *ai* had probably begun to front its first element into *ɪ*, which would bring the two diphthongs very close together.

au

707. It is not improbable that *āw* etc were diphthongs already in OE in such forms as *sāwle* (also written *saule*), and hence also in ME. Otherwise *au* does not appear in the earliest ME except in foreign words, such as *Awcstīn* (O.), *sawter* (AR) 'psalter'.

708. OE. *dragan* appears in O. as *draghenn*, in the earliest Sth as *drahen*, in AR and Ch as *drawen*, the *ɛ* having been first rounded into *æ*, which by a slight relaxation of the back of the tongue becomes *ɜ* *w*. In *drawen* the *w* was probably soon weakened into an *u*. The back *h* was rounded in the same way in ME, and developed a parasite *u* before it in AR, where *drawen* has pres. *drauhp*=Orm's *dragheþþ*. So also Orm's *lahhghenn*—where the *gh* is perhaps meant to indicate the rounding of the *hh* (cp *lahge* in Lay.²)—appears in AR as *lauhwen*.

709. IME *au* etc are sometimes the result of a change of *v* into a lip-open cons. and then into *w*, as in *hawk*=eME *havek*, OE *hafoc*. *mauk* 'worm' from eME *mavek*=Icel. *mafk* seems to have passed through the stage of **mavek*, and then to have followed *havek*.

710. The correspondence of ME *ai* and *au* to OE *æj* and *ag* respectively has sometimes given rise to doublets. Thus we have *slazenn*, *stein*, *slayn* from OE *slægen* on the one hand, *slawen*, *slawe* from OE *slagen* on the other, some texts, such as Ch and RBC showing both forms in rhyme.

ou

711. The development of *ou* in ME is quite parallel to that of *au*. OE *boga* appears in Lay. as *boge*=*oʝe*, in AR as *bowe*; to Orm's *dohhterr*, *brohhte* correspond AR's *douhter*, *brouhte*. In Ch the *u* is often omitted in *boghte* etc to prevent confusion with *ou*=(*uu*), being implied by the following *gh*. OE *tow* retains its spelling unaltered to the present day.

712. *ou* in eME is the regular representative of Scand. *ou*: thus O. has *rowwst*=Icel. *raust* 'voice', the earliest Sth has *lowsen* 'loosen', formed from the verb *lþysa*, but with the vowel of the adj. *lþus*.

eu

713. The only regular source of this diphthong would be OE *ew*, as in *strēwian*, but it is rare. Exceptional IME *ew* from OE *ef* in *ewte* 'newt' from *efete*.

ēi

714. OE *fæge* 'fated' appears in Lay. as *fæize*, *fæie*, *feie*, *faie*. Other examples are *ei* 'egg' (AR), *keie* (Ld)=OE *æg*, *cæge*. In all of these words the *ē* is Angl. as well as WS.

ēi

715. Angl. *ēg* appears in O. as *ēz*, *ēzh*, which also represent Scand. *ēj*, *eig* (through Dan. *ēj*, *ēg*), *wrēz(h)enn*, *ēzhe*, *lēzhenn*, *dēzenn*, *lēzhe* 'hire'=Angl. *wrēgan* (older *wrāgan*), *ēge* (WS *ēage*), *lēgan* (WS *lēogan*), Icel. *deyja*, *leiga*. The earliest Sth shows the same forms in many cases, but often also with the change

of \bar{e} into \bar{i} , of which there are already traces in OAngl. (465), thus AR¹ has *ēke*, *līken*. AR² has *ƿreien*, *cie*, *li(ȝ)en*, *dei(ȝ)en*.

$\bar{e}ou$

716. answers to OE *ēow*, as in eSth *heow*, *neowe* = Angl. *hēow*, *nēowe* (WS *hīw*, *nīwe*). O. has *hēwe*, *nēowe*, *nēwe*. In IME this diphthong becomes $\bar{e}u$ by the regular change of *ēo* into \bar{e} ; thus Ch has *hewe*, *newe*.

$\bar{u}i$

717. *drui* in AR = OE *drȳge* must have had this diphthong once, although *drui* may be equivalent simply to *drūe* (595).

$\bar{e}u$

718. answers to OE *ēw*, *ēaw* as in Orm's *læwedd*, *dæw*, *schæwenn* = OE *læwed*, *dēaw*, *scēawian*. Jul. has *le(a)wede*, AR has *schea(u)wen* and *schawen* (680).

$\bar{o}u$

719. See *ēou* (716). Angl. *ēw* = WS *ēw* would give $\bar{e}u$ in ME, but the combination occurs very rarely; *biſcōwen* (Hom.) 'betray' is an example.

$\bar{o}u$

720. was first developed out of OE *ōw*, as in *stōw* 'place', *flōwan*, which appear in ME as *stowe*, *flowenn* (O.). Such forms as *inouh*, *drouh*, *touward*, *nouhware* = OE *genōh*, *drōg*, *tōweard*, *nōhwær* are fully developed in AR, but not in the earlier texts, which have only *inoh* etc, as in O. In the last two words the *u* is afterwards dropped.

721. In Ch $\bar{o}u$ in the combination *ōuh* becomes (un): *ynough*, *slough* = (inuux, sluux), as shown by the MnE forms (897).

For $\bar{o}u$ = OE *ēow* see 685.

$\bar{u}u$

722. is the regular development of OE *āw*, *āg*, and of OE *ā* before *h*. Thus AR has *cnouwen*, *ouwen*, *ouh* 'ought' = OE *cnāwan*, *āgen*, *āh*. O. has *cnawenn*, *aȝhenn* etc. In North. this diphthong does not round its first element, but remains *au*: *kmau*, *awen*,

just as OE *stān* remains *stan*. Kt and Wml have the same diphthong: *zaule*, *knawe* in Ay., *crawe* Harl. in rhyme, *cnawe* in AllP. In these dialects the want of rounding is probably the result of shortening.

CONSONANTS.

723. The following is the consonant-system of fully developed Sth :

THROAT	BACK	FRONT	FOREW.		LIP
h	h	h	—	þ, s, sch	f, wh
	—	—	—	—	—
	k	ch	t	—	p
	—	—	—	—	—
	ʒ	ʒ	r	þ, s	v, w
	—	(l)	l	—	—
	g	g	d	—	b
	n(g)	(n)	n	—	m
ʔ	c	ç	—	ʋ, s, zʌ	>, ʒ
	—	—	—	—	—
	a	œ	o	—	ɒ
	—	—	—	—	—
	e	ø	ø	ʋ, s	>, ʒ
	—	(œ)	œ	—	—
	æ	œ	ø	—	ɒ
	ɛ	(œ)	ɔ	—	f

h

724. The OE dropping of unstress *h* (500) led to its complete loss in the case of the pronoun *hit* in Ml and North. While AR, Kt and Ch preserve *hit* (*hyt*), O. writes *itt*, North. *it*, this form occurring already in Ld. In these dialects the rare emphatic *hit* was supplanted by the very frequent unemphatic *it* in writing as well as speech, against the analogy of *hē*, *him*, whose frequently-occurring emphatic forms were made the

graphic symbols of the weak and strong forms alike. An interesting instance of the loss of weak *h* is afforded by the eSth ending *-ild* in *fostrild* 'fosteress', generally used in a depreciatory sense, as in *mapelild* 'chatterer'. It can only be explained by the OE names in *-hild*, which survived mainly in the poetry, and would naturally suggest such parodies as *mapelild* of *Mæphild* etc.

725. Of OE *hr*, *hl*, *hw*, *hn* only *hw* was universally kept in ME. The old spelling *hw* is kept in eSth, becoming *hu* in Kt, but O. reverses the elements, writing *whille* for the *hwüch* of AR and the *huich* of Ay. This shows that OE *hw* must have already assumed its present sound of *ɥ*. In North. the back element was exaggerated, giving *ɥ*, a pronunciation which was indicated by writing *qu*—*quile*. This spelling is also found in MI texts, such as AllP and GE.

726. *lh* and *nh*=OE *hl*, *hn* still survive in the Ay.: *lhord*, *nhöte*=OE *hlaforð*, *hnutu*. *rh*, however, has become simple *r* in Ay.: *reġ*=OE *hrycg*. O. has occasionally such spellings as *lhūde*, *rhōf*, but generally writes simple *r*, *l*. Ld drops the *h* not only in such words as *läverd*, *wīle*, but also in *wua*=*hwā*, *wat*. Similar droppings are common in many other early texts, as also of *h* before a vowel. It is probably mere carelessness in many cases, due partly to the loose usage of Fr scribes. The addition of *h* before a vowel is not uncommon in eSth texts.

727. Uninitial *h* was in OE split up into two sounds *c* and *ɔ*. The former of these was rounded into *ɥ* in ME (696). The front *h*, which occurred after front vowels, is sometimes written *s* in eME where it occurs before *t*. Thus Lay.² has *driste*, The Proverbs of Alfred have *dristin*=OE *dryhten*, other examples being *mistie*, *ristewis*. Here the *s* is an imperfect representation of the high pitch of *ɔ*. *brofte*=OE *brohte* in Lay.² is an attempt to symbolize the rounding of *ɥ*. Lay.² often writes *þ* for both sounds: *an heþ* 'on high', *cniþte*, *þorþ* 'through', *broþte*. The cons. is often omitted entirely in these early texts, even Lay.² having such spellings as *almiten*, *broute*. This can hardly indicate an actual loss of the cons. themselves, but is rather part of the general looseness in the

writing of *h*, and also of that unwillingness to use it in a strong consonantal value which afterwards lead to the general use of *gh*.

p, s, f

728. That initial *p, s, f* were voiced in Sth and Kt is proved by the initial *v* of AR and Ay., and by the initial *z* of Ay. Ay. keeps *s* before cons., as in *slage*, *smal*, although he must have pronounced *z* here also, as shown by the MnE dialects. Fr *f* and *s* are not voiced, as in *fol* (AR), *fēste* (Ay.), *sauf* 'safe' (Ay.), which shows that the voicing of the native initial *s* etc must have been developed before the 11th cent. Words which were introduced before the Conquest were naturally assimilated to the E. pronunciation, being so few in number. Hence AR has *v* in *vals*. Ay. has *z* in *zayn Jon* (alternating with *s*) by the analogy of OE *san(c)t* with its (*z*).

The MnSth dialects have (*z*) not only initially and medially, but also finally, as in (*güüz*)=OE *gōs*. This shows that the final *s* of Ay. has no more value as evidence than his frequent medial *s* in *ase*, *prayse* by the side of *aze*, *prayze*. Final *z* is found in AllP: *sȳdez*, *gemmez*, *hē lövez*, *hē sēz*. Final *f* in AR was a graphic necessity (602), and proves nothing. We may assume that *p, s, f* were voiced everywhere in Sth and Kt, except, of course, in such combinations as *st*.

729. The present E. voiceless pronunciation of final *p, s, f* must have been developed in ME before the loss of weak *e*, for the distinction between (*baap*) and (*baaðz*, *beið*) can only be explained by the ME *baþ*, *bap̄es*, *baþ(i)e(n)* (*baaþ*, *baaðez*, *baaðe*). Hence, although Ch's final *f* in *staf* no more proves a breath sound than his *f* in *of* prp—still pronounced (*ov*)—yet we must assume final as well as initial (*p, s, f*) in his mainly Midland dialect. When this Ml and North. breath pronunciation began—whether it began initially or finally, or simultaneously in both positions, whether it was already developed in OE, and whether, if so, it existed there (in the Angl. dialects) from the beginning—there is no evidence to show.

730. In MnE we have initial (*ð*) in weak words, such as *the*, *that*, *then*, *though*. So also finally in *with*. The prp *of* also

has (v), contrasting with the (f) of the adverbial *off*—both from OE *of*. We have (z) in originally inflectional syllables, as in *houses* (hauziz), *trees*, contrasting with the (s) of *goose*, *geese*. The exceptional voicing in all these cases is evidently the result of want of stress. It probably began (or was kept up) between vowels and voiced conss., the *þ* in such collocations as *tō þe* ..., *on þe* ... being treated as an ordinary medial *þ*. For the parallel *ġ*=weak *ch* see 928.

731. Hence every unstressed weak monosyllable with (ð, z, v) must originally have had a corresponding stressed or strong form with (p, s, f). We still preserve this distinction in our *of* and *off*, and the older pronunciation (wip) for (wið) is no doubt the remains of a similar distinction, which was not kept up, because no divergence of meaning or grammatical function had developed itself, as in the case of *of* and *off*. Such rhymes as *blis:is* in Ch, *wace* (=was)=*face* in AllP seem to point to a similar distinction between strong (is, his) and weak (iz, hiz).

732. In MnE we do not hesitate to use the original weak (hiz) etc as stressed emphatic forms also. That this was impossible in ME is shown by the *d* of *quod*=OE *cwæþ*. The otherwise anomalous *o* of *quob* (Jul.) as opposed to *cweþ* (AR) can only be explained as the result of want of stress (cp 418). As the word was mainly used as an enclitic, the strong form *quap* died out in most LME dialects. When the weak (kwoð) was made emphatic, the anomaly of final (ð) in a stressed syllable was got rid of by the change of (ð) into (d).

sch

733. That OE *sc* had become a simple sound different from *s* in ME is clear from the spellings *sh*, *ss*. The remarkable spelling *scæ* 'she'=OE *seō* in Ld is the earliest one that points to some such pronunciation as our present *sh*. The *æ* is merely an inaccurate spelling of *ē*, of which there are many examples in Ld, and the development of the form must have been something like (sjoo, sjœæ, sjee, fee) with the same change of (sj) into (f) as in the MnE *sure* (915). The develop-

ment of the OE *sc* in *scort*, *ascan* pl etc must have been similar: *so*, *so*, *so*, *z*, clear evidence of the front stage being afforded by the parasitic *i* in *aische*=OE *ascan*.

734. The Scand. *sk* before front vowels no doubt had a fronted *k*, but this fronting must have been very slight, for the Scand. *sk* is generally preserved in ME before all vowels, as in *skin*, *skil*, *ski*, except in a few words of early introduction, which followed the analogy of the OE *sc*, such as *shiften*.

735. In North. the unstress *-sh* of the ending *-ish* becomes *-is* in *Inglis*=OE *Englisc*. So also North. *sal*, *suld*=OE *seal*, *scolde* appear to have been originally weak forms of the emphatic **shal*, **shuld*.

ñ

736. In Sth and Kt there is a tendency to drop all weak final *ns*, not only in inflections (especially verbal), as in *binde* inf. *ibunde* ptc, but also in derivative syllables, as in *game*, *gāme*=OE *gamen*. North., on the other hand, keeps all its final *ns*, thus showing exactly opposite tendencies to what it did in the OE period (532).

ch

737. ME *ch*=OE *c* is, when doubled, written *ceh*, *cheh*, such spellings as *stretche* (Wicl.), *fetche* (TM) occurring only in isolated instances in lME. This seems to show that OE *c* had not—in eME at least—developed into full (tʃ). Probably it had the sound of *co*, which is that of Sw *k* before front vowels, as in *kind* ‘cheek.’

738. Initial *ch* occurs before the following OAngl. vowels (535), examples marked † being from O.:

æ: †*chaff*, †*chesstre*=*cæf* (WS *ceaf*), *cæster* (WS *ceaster*).

i: *chirche*, *chiken*=*cirice*, *cicen*.

e: *cheste*=*cest* (WS *ciest*).

ɛ=WS *ie* (469): *cherren* ‘turn,’ †*chele*=*çerran*, *çele* (WS *cierran*, *çiele*).

ea: *charkin* ‘grate’=*cearcian*.

eo: †*cherl*=*ceorl*.

ē=Gmc *ā*: *chēse*=*cēse* (WS *cīese*).

ē = WS *ie*: *chēpen* 'sell' = *cēpan*.

ī: *chīden*, †*chīld* = *cīdan*, *cīld*.

ēa (ē): †*chappmann*, *chēke* = *cēapmann*, *cēce* (WS *cēace*).

ēo (ē): †*chēsenn* = *cēosan*.

739. Initial *k* remains before cons., as in *clāþ*, *cniht*, and before the foll. OAngl. vowels:

a, ɔ: †*care*, †*calf*, †*cann* = *caru*, *calf* (WS *cealf*), *cōnn*.

u: †*cumenn* = *cuman*.

o: *cole* = *col*.

ā: †*kāld* = *cāld* (WS *ceald*).

ū: *cū* = *cū*.

ō: *cōl* = *cōl*.

ę = WS *ę*: †*kempe* 'champion' = *cęmpa*.

y: †*king* = *cyning*, *cyng*, *kichene* = *cyčene*.

æ: *kęie* = *cęje*.

ȳ: †*kīþenn* 'make known' = *cȳþan*.

œ: †*kēne* = *cēne* (*cēne*).

740. Traces of the non-Angl. fronting before *eal* + cons. are seen in the Kt *chald*, *chold* = WS *ceald*, and in *chalk* by the side of *calk* = WS *cealc*. The *k* of *kerven* from *ceorfan* may be due to the infl. of the ptc *corfen*. The *ch* of Orm's ptc *chosen* = OE *voren*, is, on the contrary, due to the prs and prt *chesenn*, *chæs* = OE *cēosan*, *cēas*, whence also the *s*. The *k* of *ketel*—Prompt. has both *chetil* and *ketil*—and of Orm's *kirkke* can only be explained by the infl. of Scand. *ketil*, *kirkja*, whose *ks* were only slightly fronted, and were therefore levelled under ME *k*.

741. In Sth and Kt non-initial *ch*, *ceh* correspond to OE *c*, *cc* preceded by mutated vowels, as in *mūchel*, *michel*, *wrecche* = OE *micel* (Goth. *mikil*), *wrecca* (from **wrakkjo*). In O. and North. we often find *k* answering to the Sth-Kt *ch*. Thus O. has *wrecche*, but *mikell*. The only exceptions in Sth-Kt are the result of OE *ē* being immediately followed by a cons. which hinders the development of the front hiss, thus in AR *tēchen* has 3. prs sg *tēkp*, and in Ay. *zēchen* has 3. prs sg *zēkp*. The exceptions in O. are partly explainable by analogy, or by the infl. of Scand. forms. Thus *wirrkenn* against Sth *wirchen* may owe its *k* to the sbst *werrk*, and *mikell* may owe its *k* to the

Scand. *mikil*. But neither explanations apply to such a word as *pennkenn*, with its 3. prs sg *penkeþþ* and prt *þohhte*; no Scand. word is close enough in form and meaning to influence it. The correspondence of *ekenn*, *bisennkenn* with OAngl. *ēkan* etc (535) seems, indeed, to show that the absence of fronting is older than the period of Scand. influence. It is possible that the regular development of Orm's dialect was to change all non-initial *ēs* into *k*, and that the *chs* that occur are due to Sth influence. It is worthy of note that three words which have *ch* have also the special WS *ǣ* = Angl. *ē*: *læche*, *spæche*, *wræche*. Ch shows his usual compromise between Ml and Sth in his distribution of *ch* and *k*. Thus he has both *sēken* and *sēchen*, *besēken* and *besēchen* in rhyme, and *reken* and *recchen*. MnE generally prefers the *k*-forms—*seek*, *reck*—*beseech* being an exceptional Southernism.

742. The development of *ch* after front vowels is a difficult question. The comparison of *cwik* = OE *cwic* with the Mn dialectal *quitch* 'couch-grass' = OE *cwice* (from **kwikō*) shows that this influence requires to be helped by a following front vowel—which, if Gmc, would make the *ch* fall under the previous head. That a following back vowel stops the fronting is shown by such eSth forms as *lōdlikest*, *lōdluker* = OE *lāplicost*, *lāplicor* contrasted with *lōdlich*, adv *lōdliche* = OE *lāplic*, *lāplice*. The final *ch* of *-lich*, as also of the sbst *līch* 'body' = OE *līc*, and of *pick* = OE *pic* may be explained from the infl. of the inflected forms *-lice* etc. Orm's fluctuation between *līc* and *līch*, *bacc* and *bacch* = OE *bæc* points to an OE gradation *līc*, *līces*, *bæc*, *bæce*. But this will not explain the Sth *ich*. Here the *ch* seems to be the result of want of stress, which would enable the preceding front vowel to carry out its influence without the help of another front vowel. This may also be the explanation not only of the *ch* of *-lich*, but also of that of the Sth *swich*, *hwich*, *ēuch*, *īch* = OE *swile*, *swelc*, *hwile*, *hwelc*, *ǣlc* from **swalik* etc. Also of the *wich* = shortened OE *wīc* in *Greenwich* etc, and perhaps of *ditch* by the side of *dyke* from OE *dīc*. The form *hic* in KS—Ay. has *ich*—and *icc* in O. may have been originally the strong form corresponding to the weak *ich*. But O. has *k* also in *-like* = Sth *-liche*.

743. The dropping of *c* in *ī*—which thus becomes the weak form corresponding to what then becomes the strong *ich*, *icc*, finally superseding these latter—cannot be direct; *ī* must rather be referred to the ONorth *ig* (540). O. shows a similar weakening in *-līz* = Sth *-lich*, OE *-lic*, as in *gāstlīz* = Sth *gōstlich*, OE *gāstlic*; our present *-ly* can only be referred to Orm's form.

3

744. OE *ġ* becomes *g* everywhere in ME, except in the combination *nġ* and *ċġ*, where *lŋ*, *mŋ* gradually developed into their present sound of (*nʒ*, *dʒ*), as in *senġen*, *brīġġe* MnE (*sinʒ*, *bridʒ*) = OE *senġan*, *bryċġ*. So also in Sth *liġġen*, *leġġen*, *seġġen* = OE *licġan*, *lēċġan*, *seċġan*, which in Sth rhyme on *brīġġe*, Fr *alleġġe* etc. The evidence of the MnE dialects shows that in O. and North. these words returned to their original back cons. : *leggenn*, *seggenn*.

745. *ġ* = Gmc *j* always becomes *g*, as in *gē*, *gung* = OE *ġē*, *geong*, *iung*.

746. Initial *g* = Gmc *g* occurs before the following OAngl. vowels (cp *ch*), examples marked † being from O.:

æ: †*gaff* = *ġæf* (WS *ġeaf*).

i: *gift* = *ġift*.

e: †*zellpenn* 'boast' = *ġelpan* (WS *ġielpen*).

ę = WS *ie*: †*zerrde* = *ġerd*.

ea: †*garrkenn* 'prepare' = *ġearcian*.

eo: *gelwe* = *ġeolu*.

ē: †*gemenn* = *ġēman* (WS *ġieman*).

i: †*ġiferr* 'greedy' = *ġifre*.

ēa (ē): †*zæn* = *onġēan*.

ēo (ē): †*zētenn* = *ġēotan*.

747. Initial stopt *g* remains before cons., as in *grēne*, *gnazen*, and before the same vowels which preserve initial *k*: *galle*, *genġen* 'gò', *gilt*, †*gēet* (pl of *gāt* 'goat'), *gēs* 'geese' = OE *galle* (WS *ġealle*), *genġan*, *gylt*, *gēet*, *gēs*.

748. Of the exceptional initial *gs*, some are Scand. words, such as *gerp* 'girth' = Icel. *gjörp*. *gest* = WS *ġiest* is also a Scand. form; cp *geest* 'yeast' = OE *ġest*. The vb *biginnenn* in

O., which has *g* in eSth also, gets its *g* from the prt *bigann* and ptc *bigunnenn*. As *bigetenn* keeps its *g* in O., it is difficult to see why its pret. should be *bigatt* (*biget* AR) with a *g* against *gaff* (with occ. *gaff*), which, again, does not agree with the *g* of *gifenn* by the side of *gifenn*. As eSth shows exclusively *g* in *bigeten*, *given*, it seems possible that the unanalogical *gs* of O. are due to Scand. influence. But on the other hand, there is no such verb as **bigeta* in Scand., and Scand. *gefa* has a different vowel. North. has *give*, *gette*. Ch, as usual, hesitates between Northern and Southern: *yiven*, but *geten*. The MnE *yield* = Orm's *gēldenn*, OMerc. *gēldan* (WS *giēldan*) no doubt owes its *y*—against the *g* of *give* and *get*—to the fact that it has lost the old strong forms answering to OMerc. *gāld*, *gōlden*, which would otherwise have introduced the *g* into the inf. and prs. O. fluctuates in *gate*, *gate*, which may, perhaps, reflect the OE alternation in *gæt* (WS *geat*), pl *gatu*. eSth has, of course, *get*. Ch has *gate*, North. has *yate*, thus reversing the usual relation.

749. There is a tendency to drop initial *g* before *i*, especially in weak syllables. Already O. has *iff* by the side of *giff*. *īsikel* = OE *īsgicel* is also ME. *gicchen* has dropt its *g* in MnE *itch*. In all these instances *g* = Gmc *j*. OE initial *ge-* (Gmc *gi-* *ga-*) becomes *i-* in ME, as in *inōh* (O.), *ivēre* AR = OE *genōh*, *gefēra*. O. still has such forms as *gehātenn*.

750. Non-initial open *g* and *j* are represented in O. by *gh* and *g* resp., the latter probably representing a vowel in most cases (697). *g* occurs after OE front vowels finally or before a cons., as in *dazz*, *wegg*, *rezzn*, and before another OE front vowel, as in *legenn* ptc, *wregeph* = OE *wrāgeph*. *gh* occurs after and before an OE back vowel, as in *inozhe* pl, *daghess* pl, *nighenn* = OE *genōge*, *dagas*, *nigon*, and after *r*, *l*, as in *burrghess* pl, *folghenn* = OE *burga*, *folgian*. A following OE back vowel or preceding cons. changes original *j* to *gh* even when mutation has passed through it into the preceding vowel; thus to *wrēgeph* corresponds the infin. *wrēghenn* = OE *wrēgan*, and not only *serrghenn* 'grieve' = OE *særgan* has *gh*, but also *serrgheph* = OE *særgēph*, *-iph*. *ē* = WS *ēa*, *ēo* acts like the diphthongs of which it is a smoothing (462, 465), and keeps *gh* before all vowels, as in

ēzhe, lēzhenn, lēzheþþ = OAngl. *ēge, lēgan, lēgeþ* (WS *ēage, lēogan, *lēogeþ*).

751. In Sth and later ME generally Orm's *gh* after front vowels is levelled under *g*; thus to his *ezze* 'fear,' *ēzhe* correspond *vie, zie* in AR, the latter becoming *ye* in Ch. *gh* after back vowels and cons. is written *h* in the earliest Sth—a spelling which occurs also in IOE—as in *dahes, fuhel, folheþ, w* in AR and later ME generally: *dawes, fuwel, voluweþ*, pointing to the development *ε, æ, ɜ*.

752. Final *gh* becomes *h*. Thus to Orm's plurals *inōzhe, burzhe* correspond the singulars *inōh, burrh*. Hence, by a natural analogy, original final *h*, as in *hēh*, became *gh* before a vowel—pl *hēzhe*, spl *hēzhesst*—as already in IWS *hēage, hēagost*. So also OE *holh, furh* became in IME *holwe, furwe*.

753. OE *ġ* after *r* and *l* preserves its front character not only in Sth, but also in the later Ml and North., being vowelized to *i*, as in *būrien, birien* = OE *byrgan*. Ld also has *bebiriend*. O. itself has *birzenn*, but as it occurs only once, it is probably a scribal error for *birrzhenn*. The *i* of *birien* is probably a parasite-vowel, which was already developed in OE *bebyr(i)gan*. The *i* which regularly represents final *ġ* after a cons. in ME, as in *mūri, meri, beli* = OE *myrg, bel(i)g*, is no doubt this parasite.

t, d

754. Weak final *d* is regularly unvoiced in earliest Sth. Thus Jul. has *inempnet, naket, towart* = OE *genēmned, nacod, tōweard*. The later Sth texts restore the *d*, thus AR² has *offered* against the *offearet* of AR¹ = OE *offiæred*. It is probable that the *d* was preserved in earliest Sth also before a vowel beginning the next word, the change into *t* taking place only before a breath cons. or a pause. This unvoicing of weak stops—which may be of OE origin (cp 533)—is fixed in the MnE contracted participles *dwelt, sent* etc.

MODERN ENGLISH SOUNDS.

PERIODS.

755. It is still more difficult to draw a definite line between late Middle and early Modern E. than between OE and eME. The most marked criterion is, no doubt, the loss of final *e* in *nāme*, *nāmes* etc. The loss of final *e*—of which we see the beginnings in Ch, and which was completely carried out by the middle of the 15th cent.—broke down the metrical system brought to perfection by Chaucer, and made a new departure necessary. The break between old and new was made more abrupt by the social confusion caused by the Wars of the Roses (1450-71), which, at the same time, helped to level differences of dialect—at least, in the upper classes. When printing was introduced—in 1476—the language had almost completely settled down into its Modern, as distinguished from its Middle, stage. The diffusion of printed books made the want of a common literary language more and more felt, and, at the same time, greatly facilitated the realization of the ideal—an ideal which was, however, not fully realized till the appearance of Tindal's translation of the New Testament in 1525—a work which is wholly modern both in vocabulary and diction.

756. We may, then, say that Modern English begins, in round numbers, about 1500, the period between 1400 (or rather later) and 1500 being regarded as Middle Transition. The change from ME to MnE is, with the exception of the loss of final *e*, slight compared with the changes in MnE itself. Even if we separate the language of the period from 1800 to the present day as 'Living English,' we still require a division of MnE into three periods, which may be conveniently designated as First, Second, Third, Living English itself requiring a twofold division:

- 1500-1600 First Modern English (fMn)
- 1600-1700 Second Modern English (sMn)
- 1700-1800 Third Modern English (thMn)
- 1800-1850 Early Living English (eLE)
- 1850-1900 Late Living English (lLE).

757. These minute divisions are necessarily even more arbitrary than those into OE, ME and MnE. The separation into centuries is mainly for the sake of convenience: in reality fMn extends some way into the following century, and if MnE were to be separated into two periods only—Early and Late (eMn, lMn)—1650 would, perhaps, be the best point of division, agreeing with the general upheaval caused by the Civil War. thMn is really a transition to LE, because its sounds are still more or less known to us by tradition. It is also to be noted that our knowledge of LE really extends some decades beyond the present time, because the observation of the tendencies of vulgar speech enables us to predict with some certainty the future development of the standard, educated speech.

758. The E. of Tindal and his successors was not a mere literary language—it was a spoken language, which every educated man acquired more or less perfectly, whatever his native dialect might be. Even in the 14th cent. we find the Kentish man Gower writing—and probably speaking—a dialect which, in spite of some marked Kenticisms, is practically that of the Londoner Chaucer. In the 16th cent. we find natives of Wales, Lincolnshire, Cambridge, London describing the sounds of one and the same dialect, although, of course, the influence of the native speech shows itself occasionally, as it does still, in, for example, the pronunciation of an educated Yorkshireman. We have, then, in MnE to recognize a standard E. (stE) as distinguished from dialectal E.

759. The question now arises, where was this stE developed? The answer is easy. Ch was a Londoner; and his dialect was such a compromise between EMI and SthE as would naturally be spoken in the capital—at the court, and by the educated classes generally. Chaucer's disciple, Occleve, was also a Londoner. The succeeding poets, Lydgate, Hawes,

Skelton, were all EMI men, the two first being natives of Suffolk, the last of Norfolk. This movement towards the East and North is clearly shown in the language as well as the literature. We may, therefore, define stE as that mainly EMI dialect of ME which was developed among the educated classes in London, and thence spread to the Universities, and, in more or less dialectally modified forms, over the country generally. The influence of stE in Scotland was purely literary. Although this influence was strong enough to make stE the liturgical language of the country, it did not extend to speech, for even in the last cent. pure 'Broad Scotch'—which is really Modern Northumbrian—was the conversational language of educated Edinburgh, and even now educated Scotch has a sound-system which is wholly distinct from that of stE. The educated speech of Ireland has also a sound-system of its own, which is an independent development of eMn, influenced by the Celtic Irish. The educated speech of America is analogous to that of Ireland, being, like it, in some cases more archaic than the stE of England. The educated speech of Australia and New Zealand is only beginning to diverge from that of England.

760. In all our large towns there is a marked divergence between the speech of the upper and lower classes, which is most marked in London. This difference between stE and vulgar E. (vgE) extends over the whole English-speaking world, many vulgarisms of London E. reappearing not only in the popular speech of Birmingham and Liverpool, but also in that of America, although, of course, each town has its own vulgarisms. Vulgarisms are of various kinds. Some of them are due to the influence of neighbouring dialects. Others are archaisms, which once formed part of the standard language; and others, again, are anticipations of changes that are imminent in the standard language. Hence the necessity of the study of vgE (by which is here understood the vgE of London) both as preserving the fossilized standard pronunciations of an earlier period and as pointing the direction of future changes.

PHONETIC AUTHORITIES.

761. The orthography of MnE is a direct continuation of that of ME. ME orthography itself was, as we have seen, highly unphonetic in its basis. In MnE the divergence between sound and symbol increased. Thus already in fMn *e* had not only the ME values (*e*, *ee*, *ee*), but also that of (*ii*). But the application of this unphonetic basis was still mainly phonetic. The influence of tradition became, however, stronger and stronger as the printing-press developed, until the printers became the main arbiters in questions of orthography, their interest being, of course, to make it as uniform and conservative as possible. By degrees, not only the basis, but also the application of E. spelling became unphonetic. Already in fMn final *e* was written at random, or used as a mark of length of the preceding vowel, and by the end of sMn there were so many silent letters (such as *gh*), and so many isolated correspondencies of sound and symbol that elaborate spelling-rules became necessary. Meanwhile the orthography became more and more fixed, settling down in the beginning of the next period into practically its present form.

762. But, whatever its present condition may be, MnE orthography was never intentionally unphonetic in its period of development. On the contrary, a number of spelling-reformers arose in the 16th cent., whose avowed object was to regulate and simplify E. spelling by restoring the direct connection between sound and symbol. The new alphabets proposed were, however, without an exception, too intricate and cumbersome for practical use, which, indeed, is not to be wondered at, when we consider what difficulties these reformers had to face, and how utterly unprepared they were to grapple with phonetic and alphabetic problems. But, although they were not able to provide a workable substitute for the unphonetic French basis, they succeeded in introducing some important improvements of details, such as the separation of *u* and *v*, *ea* and *ee*—all of them purely phonetic reforms. Although most

of the reformers were men of high education—including in their ranks such classical scholars as Cheke—they were not much troubled with etymological considerations. If they tolerated the silent *s* in *island*, it was simply because Fr orthography had familiarized them with the use of *s* as a mark of vowel-length, its introduction into this particular E. word being, of course, directly suggested by the identity of its meaning with that of the Fr *isle*.

763. Hence even the ordinary eMn spelling has a distinct value as evidence of changes of pronunciation, and often serves to confirm and control the statements of the phonetic authorities, and their phonetic transcriptions.

764. Although eMn spelling is still some guide to the history of the sounds, it is quite inadequate by itself: our main reliance must be on the phonetic treatises, which, fortunately, become more and more accurate and reliable as the fixity of the spelling leaves us in the lurch. Some of the sMn authorities, indeed, show an acuteness and accuracy of analysis and description of sound-formation which partly anticipates the discoveries of Mr. Bell. The statements of the fMn authorities on the formation of sounds are, on the other hand, mostly vague and confusing; and here we have to rely mainly on their comparisons of English with foreign sounds—mainly French. Unfortunately, Fr pronunciation itself has changed even more than E., and the statements of the older French orthoepists are as vague as those of their English contemporaries. It is, therefore, fortunate that we have detailed comparisons of the sounds of fMn with those of a phonetically written language whose sounds have undergone hardly any change since the 16th century—North Welsh. The results thus obtained are further confirmed and supplemented by a phonetic transliteration in Welsh orthography of a Hymn to the Virgin¹, the mss of this Welsh transliteration (HVg) having apparently been written about 1500.

¹ Phil. Soc. Transs. 1880-1, *35.

765. The following is a list of the phonetic authorities from the 16th century downwards in chronological order ¹.

First Modern Period.

1530. **Palsgrave**, John (Pg).

Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse. London.

This book is in E., though the title is in Fr. Pg graduated at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris.

To the French reprint is added a reprint of

An Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce and to speke French trewly etc.

By Giles du Guez or du Wes, with no author's name, except as shown by an initial acrostic, and no date, but apparently about 1532.

1547. **Salesbury**, W. (Sb).

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welthe . . . wherevnto is prefixed a litle treatyfe of the englyshe pronounciation of the letters. London.

Sb was born in Denbighshire, studied at Oxford, and settled in London.

1555. **Cheke**, Sir John (Ck).

Joannis Cheki Angli de pronunciatione Graecae potissimum linguae disputationes cum Stephano Vuintoniensi Episcopo. Basle.

The Gospel according to Saint Matthew . . . translated from the Greek, with original notes, by Sir John Cheke, knight etc . . . by James Goodwin. London, 1843.

The spelling in the latter is not strictly phonetic, but rather an attempt to improve the existing spelling.

1567. **Salesbury**, W.

A playne and familiar Introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Welsh London.

1568. **Smith**, Sir Thomas (Sm).

De recta et emendata lingvæ anglicæ scriptione, dialogus. Paris .

¹ Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, Part I.

1569. **Hart, John (Ht).**

An Orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or painte thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature. Composed by J. H. Chester, Heralt. London.

1573. **Baret, John.**

An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin and French. London.

1580. **Bullokar, William (Bll).**

Bullokars Booke at large for the *Amendment of Orthographie* for English speech.

1605. **ErondeU, Peter¹.**

The French Garden : for English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in. Or, A Sommer dayes labour. Being an instruction for the attayning vnto the knowledge of the French tongue. London.

1609. **Holyband, Claudius².**

The French Littelton. A most easie, perfect and absolvt way to learne the French tongue, Set foorth by *Clavdivs Holyband*, Gentil-homme Bourbonnois. London.

1611. **Cotgrave, Randle.**

A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues. London.

1611. **Florio, John.**

Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues, collected, and newly much augmented by J. F.

1619 first ed., 1621 second ed. **Gill, Alexander (G.).**

Logonomia Anglica. Quâ gentis sermo facilius addiscitur Conscripta ab Alexandro Gil, Paulinæ Scholæ magistro primario. Secundò edita, paulò correctior, sed ad vsum communem accommodatior.

1633. **Butler, Charles (Bt).**

The English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters, Syllables, and Words in the English tongue. Whereunto is annexed an Index of Words Like and Unlike. Oxford.

1640. **Jonson, Ben.**

The English Grammar. Made by Ben Johnson. For the benefit of all Strangers, out of his observation of the English Language now spoken, and in use.

Jonson was born in 1574.

¹ Ellis, p. 226, note.

² Ellis, p. 227, note.

Second Modern Period.

1653. Wallis, John (W.).

Joannis Wallisii Grammatica Lingvuae Anglicanae Cui prae-
figitur De Loqvela; sive de sonorum omnium loquellarum
formatione: Tractatus Grammatico-Physicus. Editio Sexta.
London, 1765. First ed. 1653.

1668. Wilkins, John (Wk.).

An Essay towards a Real Character, And a Philosophical
Language.

1668. Price, Owen (P.).

English Orthographie or *The Art of right spelling, reading,
pronouncing and writing all sorts of English words.* Oxford.

The author's name is given on the authority of the British
Museum copy in which it is pencilled.

1669. Holder, William, D.D., F.R.S.

Elements of Speech, an Essay of Inquiry into the natural pro-
duction of Letters with an appendix concerning persons Deaf
and Dumb.

1685. Cooper, C., A.M. (Cp).

Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae. London.

1688. Miege, Guy, gent. (Mg).

The Great French Dictionary. In Two parts. London.

1701. Jones, John, M.D. (Jn).

Practical Phonography: or, the New Art of Rightly Speling
(sic) and Writing Words by the Sound thereof. And of Rightly
Sounding and Reading Words by the Sight thereof. Applied
to The English Tongue.

Third Modern Period.

1704. Expert Orthographist (EO).

The Expert Orthographist: Teaching To Write True English
Exactly, By Rule, and not by Rote. According to the Doctrine
of Sounds. And By such Plain Orthographical Tables, As
Condescend to the Meanest Capacity. The Like not Extant
before. For the Use of such Writing and Charity Schools
which have not the Benefit of the Latin Tongue. By a School-
master, of above Thirty Years Standing, in London. Persons

of Quality may be attended at their Habitations; Boarding Schools may be taught at convenient times. London: Printed for, and Sold by the Author, at his House at the *Blue-Spikes* in *Spread-Eagle-Court* in *Grays-Inn-Lane*. Where it is also Carefully Taught,

1710. **Palatines.**

A Short & easy Way for the Palatines to learn English. Oder eine kurze Anleitung zur englischen Sprache zum Nutz der armen Pfälzer, nebst angehängten Englischen und Teutschen A B C. London.

1710. **Dyche, Thomas.**

Guide to the English Tongue. London.

1725. **Lediard, Thomas (Ld)**¹.

Grammatica Anglicana Critica, oder Versuch zu einer vollkommenen Grammatic der Englischen Sprache, in welcher . . . eine neue Methode, die so schwer gehaltene Pronunciation in kurtzer Zeit zu erlangen, angezeigt . . . wird . . . durch *Thomas Lediard*, N.C.P. & Philol. Cult. Hamburg, 1725.

1766. **Buchanan, James (Bch).**

Essay towards establishing a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English Language, throughout the British Dominions. London.

The author was a Scotchman, and there are Scotticisms in his pronunciation.

1768. **Franklin, Benjamin (Fk).**

A Scheme for a New Alphabet and reformed mode of Spelling. Complete Works . . . of the late B. F. London, 1806. vol. II.

The pronunciation here given is, of course, affected by American provincialisms.

1780. **Sheridan, Thomas (Sh).**

A General Dictionary of the English Language, One main Object of which, is, to establish a plain and permanent Standard of Pronunciation.

The author was an Irishman, but familiar with the standard pronunciation.

¹ Ellis, p. 1040.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

766. The two main sound-changes in the transition from ME to MnE are (1) the dropping of unstrest *e* in endings, and (2) the shortening of double medial consonants. These changes had already been carried out in eNorth., where the unstrest *e* does not count at all in versé, and where we find such spellings as *calis* (CM)=OE *cealliaþ*, *bigines* (MH). Generally, however, both in eNorth. and eMn the consonant-doubling was kept as a sign of the shortness of the preceding vowel. This naturally led to doubling cons. which were originally written single in ME, when preceded by a short vowel. This is rare in North., where the doublings in such words as *littel*, *goddes*, *commynng*, *wonnyng* (CM) correspond to real doubling in Chaucer's dialect, although all these words had single cons. in OE as well as in North. itself. But in such MnE spellings as *penny*, *sorrow* the doubling of the cons. was never anything but a sign of vowel-quantity. The dropping of final *e* in such words as *falle* inf., *lesse* led also to the doubling of final as well as medial cons. to show that the preceding vowel was short, not only in *fall* and *less*, but also in *small*, *glass* etc.=ME *smal*, *glas*.

767. At first there was great confusion in the writing of the *e* and the doubling of cons. The *e* was often written after short as well as long vowels, as in *hyme* by the side of *hym*, though in such cases its significance was generally neutralized by doubling the cons., as in *sonne*=OE *sunu*. *e* was always kept after (v), because this cons. was generally written *u*, as in ME, through the greater part of the eMn period. We still mechanically retain this usage, writing final *e* in *have* (hæv) as well as in *behave* (biheiv), *love* (lav) etc. In eMn such a spelling as **lou* would have suggested our *low* (lou). In our present spelling we use *e* as a lengthener only when a single cons. precedes, but in eMn such spellings as *chylde*=ME *chīld* are not unfrequent. The following examples from Tindal will give an idea of the irregularities of fMn usage:

fare (=ME *fāre*), *care* . *life* (=līf) . *chylde* (=chīld) . *tooke* (=tōk).

hyme, *hym* (=him) . *live* (=liven), *love* (=luve).

stones, strets (= *stōnes, strētes*) . *ax* (= *axe*).

cuppe, cup (= *cuppe*) . *penny, peny* (= *peni*), *boddy, body* (= *bodi*) . *openned* (= *opened*).

all, ledd ptc, gospell . worship, worshippe . sun, sunne (= *sunne*), *sonne* (= *sune*).

cloocke (= *clōke*), *goodds* (= *gōdes*).

neet, nettes (= *net, nettes*), *beed* (= *bed*).

768. In MnE *ck* becomes the regular doubling of *k*. *ssh* (*fisher* in Td) is simplified to *sh*. *f* is sometimes doubled initially (to indicate the breath sound?), as in *ffor* (Td), a usage which still survives in some surnames.

769. The irregularity in the use of silent *e* and of cons.-doubling in eMn was, as we are expressly told by Sb, kept up for the convenience of the printers 'in consideration for iustifying of the lynes.'

770. The ME use of *y* for *i* was carried to a great excess in eMn, the two letters being used almost at random, except that *i* was rarely written finally, such spellings as *thi* for *thy* being exceptional. Final *i* was also written *ie*, not only in such words as *lie*=ME *līe*, but also in *manie*, *-lie* etc. The present use of the Fr *c* to denote (s) in E. words was begun in fMn, the older *s* being also kept; thus Td has *ons, once, thryse, pence, falce*. For the MnE *ea, oa* see 817, 831.

VOWELS.

771. The changes from ME to MnE are so gradual, that instead of starting from a fMn vowel-scheme, it will be more practical to take each IME vowel separately, and trace it down to LE.

a

772. Sb says of the Welsh *a* that 'it hath the true pronunciation of *a* in Latin,' and that it is never sounded 'so fully in the mouth as the Germanes sound it in this word *wagen*.' Again he says:

'A in English is of the same sound as *a* in Welsh, as is evident in these words of English ALE, *aal*, cervisia, PALE, *paal*, SALE, *sal*.'

P

Here the last should be *saal*; Sb in his phonetic transcriptions often, but not always, doubles the vowel to show it is long, and doubles the following cons. when the vowel is short. These three examples are all of long *a*, but in other places he gives us transcriptions of short *a*, thus *narrowe*: *narrow*, *sparrowe*: *sparw*, *kwarter*, *hand*, *flacs*. The present sound of Welsh *a* is ʃ, ʒ, which is also the standard North Gm sound. In Saxony, however, *a* has the deep sound of ʝ (sometimes ʝ?), which, of course, is the one alluded to by Sb. To judge, indeed, from Lediard's (1725) identification of the North Gm *a* with the E. *a* in *fall* this ʝ was formerly universal in Gm. It is, therefore, clear that Sb pronounced E. *a* as ʃ. HVg has the same transcription as Sb.

773. Pg (1530) says:

‘The soundyng of a, whiche is most generally vsed through out the frenche tonge, is suche as we vse with vs, where the best englysshe is spoken, whiche is lyke as the Italians sounde a, or they with vs, that pronounce the latine tonge aryght.’

Here, again, the Italian *a* is pure ʃ. Fr *a* is now ʃ and ʝ, but the 16th cent. Fr grammarians state that it was clearer than the *o*-like German *a*. Pg's ‘correct’ pronunciation of *a* was, therefore, the same as Sb's. But he tacitly admits that there was another pronunciation. What this pronunciation was, we seem to learn from his contemporary du Guez: ‘Ye shal pronounce your [French] *a* as wyde open mouthed as ye can, your *e*, as ye do in latyn, almost as brode as ye pronounce your *a* in englysshe.’ This points to a sound between ʝ or ʃ on the one side and ʌ on the other, that is, to ʃ, or, more probably, to the ʌ of our *man*, a sound which, as we shall see, was fully established in the next cent. Equally clear is the statement of Erondell in 1605:

‘Our *A* is not sounded . . after the rate of the english word *ale*, for if a Frenchman should write it according to the English sound, hee would write it in this wise *esl*, and sound it as if there were no *s*.’

774. The question now arises, May not Pg and Sb have had the same ʌ-sound, and identified it wrongly with the ʃ of other languages? This would be possible with Pg, but hardly with

an accurate observer like Sb, who was perfectly familiar with both of the languages whose sounds he compares. On the whole, it seems safest to assume that fMn *a* had been fronted—certainly as far as ʃ, and probably as far as ʎ—in the London dialect, but that the tradition of the older ʝ was still kept up by the influx of provincial speakers, so that the two sounds really existed side by side. It is to be noted that, according to Butler (1633), short *a*, as in *man*, *hat*, had a different sound from long *a*, as in *mane*, *hate*. Does this point to ʃ, ʎ? In Danish the short and long *a* diverge as ʃ, ʃ+, which would be precisely parallel. In Swedish, however, it is exactly the contrary: ʃ, ʃ+ (almost ʃ+). But see 780.

775. Wallis (1653) distinguishes nine E. vowels, three guttural (ʃ, ʎ, 1), three palatal (ʎ, ʎ, ʃ+), and three labial (ʃ+, ʃ, ʃ+). Of the palatal vowels he says:

‘Vocales Palatinae in Palato formantur, aëre scilicet inter palati et linguae medium moderate compresso: dum nempe concavum palati, elevato linguae medio, minus redditur, quàm in gutturalibus proferendis. Suntque in triplici gradu, prout concavum magis minusve contrahitur. Quae quidem diversitas duobus modis fieri potest; vel fauces contrahendo, manente lingua in eodem situ; vel faucibus in eodem situ manentibus, linguae medium altius et ad interiores palati partes elevando: utrovis enim modo fiat, vel etiam si utroque, perinde est.

‘Majori aperturâ formatur Anglorum *a*, hoc est *á* exile. Quale auditur in vocibus, *bat*, vespertilio; *bate*, discordia; *pal*, palla Episcopalis; *pale*, pallidus; *Sam* (Samuelis contractio); *same*, idem; *lamb*, agnus; *lame*, claudus; *dam*, mater (brutorum); *dame*, domina; *bar*, vectis; *bare*, nudus; *ban*, execrator; *bane*, perniciēs; etc. Differt hic sonus a Germanorum *a* pingui seu aperto; eo quod Angli linguae medium elevent, adeoque aerem in Palato comprimant; Germani vero linguae medium deprimant, adeoque aërem comprimant in gutture. Galli fere sonum illum proferunt ubi *e* praecedit literam *m* vel *n*, in eadem syllaba ut *entendement*, etc. Cambro-Britanni, hoc sono solent suum *a* pronunciare.’

In another place he says:

‘A plerumque pronunciatur sono magis exili quam apud alias plerasque gentes: eodem fere modo quo Gallorum *e* sequente *n* in voce

entendement, sed paulo acutius et clarius; seu ut *a* Itolorum. Non autem ut Germanorum *â* pingue; quem sonum nos plerumque exprimere solemus per *au* vel *aw*, si producatur; aut per *ô* breve si corripitur.

776. This description of an open vowel formed by the middle of the tongue and palate points distinctly to our present *ɪ* in *man*. The clear back vowels *ɨ*, *ɯ* were evidently unfamiliar to W., who only knew the extremes *ɜ* and *ɯ*, and hence considered the Welsh and Italian *ɨ* as a variety of *ɯ*, and identified the Gm *ɜ* with *ɜ*. But he does not actually confuse *ɷ* and *ɨ*, for he expressly says that the E. *a* is thinner in sound than the foreign *a*. Wilkins's description is vague, but not inconsistent with W.'s.

777. Cooper's (1685) list of exact pairs of long and short vowel sounds is as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(a) can	ken	will	folly	full	up	meet	foot	
(b) cast	cane	weal	fall	foale	—	need	fool	
=	ɪ	ɛ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	
	ɪ†	ɪ†	[†	ɪ†	ɪ†	—	ɪ†	

2a was possibly *ɷ*, and 2b may have been *ɜ*. 4b is now *ɜ*, and may have been narrow even in Cp's time. 6a may have been *ɜ*. 7a and 8a were probably half-long rather than strictly short. It will be observed that Cp was dissatisfied with the traditional pairing of *ɜ* *ɜ*, *ɜ* *ɜ*, and imagined that *ɜ* *ɜ*, *ɜ* *ɜ* were the true pairs, not being familiar either with the true short narrows *ɜ* *ɜ* or the long wides *ɜ* *ɜ*. This identification of *ɜ* *ɜ*, *ɜ* *ɜ* resp. is still a common error both of theoretical and practical phoneticians (174). Cp says:

'A formatur à medio linguæ ad concavum palati paululùm elevato. In his *can* possum, *pass* by prætereo, *a* corripitur; in *cast* jacio¹, *past* pro *passed* præteritus, producitur. Frequentissimus auditur hic sonus apud *Anglos*, qui semper hoc modo pronunciant *a* latinum; ut in *amabam*. Sic etiam apud *Cambro-britannos*; quandoque apud *Gallos*; ut in *animal*, *demande*, rarè autem aut nunquam apud *Germanos*. Hunc sonum correptum & productum semper scribimus per *a*; at huic characteri præterea adhibentur sonus unus et alter: prior qui

¹ Printed *jaceo*.

pro vocali ejus longâ habetur, ut in *cane*, definitur sect. sequenti; posterior ut in *was* sect. septimâ sub *o* gutturalem.'

'*E* formatur à linguâ magis elevatâ et expansâ quàm in *a* propriùs ad extremitatem, unde concavum palati minus redditur & sonus magis acutus; ut in *ken* video. Sic apud *Germanos* *menschen* homines. Apud *Gallos* rarè ut in *excès*, *proteste*, *session*, & *Benjamin* obsoleto. Hunc sonum correptum *Angli* semper exprimunt per *e* brevem; & *e* brevem nunquam aliter pronunciant nisi ante *r*, ubi propter tremulam ipsius motionem, & vocalis subtilitatem subitâ correptione comitatam, vix aliter efferri potest quam *ur*; ideo *per* in *pertain* pertineo, & *pur* in *purpose* propositum ejusdem sunt valoris. Vera hujusce soni productio scribitur per *a*, atque *a* longum falso denominatur; ut in *cane* canna, *wane* deflecto; & ante *ge* ut *age* ætas; in cæteris autem vocabulis, (*ni fallor*) omnibus ubi *e* quiescens ad finem syllabæ post *a*, adicitur; *u* gutturalis. . inseritur post *a*; ut in *name* nomen, quasi scriberetur *na-um* dissyllabum.' He proceeds to say that this sound is usually written *ai* or *ay*, sometimes *ey*, and rarely *ea*.

'Post *a* in omnibus, nisi in *cane* canna, *wane* deflecto, *stranger* advena, *strange* alienus, *manger* præsepe, *mangy* scabiosus, & ante *ge*; ut *age* ætas; inseritur *u* gutturalis, quæ nihil aliud est quàm continuatio nudi murmuris postquam *a* formatur, nam propter exilitatem, ni accuratiùs attenditur; ad proximam consonantem, sine interveniente *u* non facilè transibit lingua. Differentia auribus, quæ sonos distinguere possunt, manifestò apparebit in exemplis sequenti ordine dispositis.

a brevis.

Bar vectis
blab effutio
cap pileum
car carrus
cat catus
dash allido
flash fulguro
gash cæsura
grand grandis
land terra
mash farrago
pat aptus
tar pix fluida

a longa.

Barge navicula
blast flatus
carking anxietas
carp carpo
cast jactus
dart jaculum
flasket corbis genus
gasp oscito
grant concedo
lanch solvo
mask larva
path semita
tart scriblita

a exilis.

Bare nudus
blazon divulgo
cape capa
care cura
case theca
date dactylus
flake flocculus
gate janua
grange villa
lane viculus
mason lapidarius
pate caput
tares lolia

'Si quid amplius ad hanc veritatem confirmandam velles, accipe

exempla sequentia ; in quibus *ai* leniter pronunciata sonum habet *a* puræ ; ut in *cane*, *a* verò post se admittit *u* gutturalem ut,

<i>Bain</i> balneum	<i>Hail</i> grando	<i>Maid</i> virgo
<i>bane</i> venenum	<i>hale</i> traho	<i>made</i> factus
<i>main</i> magnus	<i>lay'n</i> jacui	<i>pain</i> dolor
<i>mane</i> juba	<i>lane</i> viculus	<i>pane</i> quadra
<i>plain</i> manifestus	<i>spaid</i> castratus	<i>tail</i> cauda
<i>plane</i> lævigo	<i>spade</i> ligo	<i>tale</i> fabula.'

778. Miede (1688) says :

' Dans la langue Anglaise cette voyelle *A* s'appelle et se prononce *ai*. Lors qu'elle est jointe avec d'autres Lettres, elle retient ce même Son dans la plupart des Mots ; mais il se prononce tantôt long, tantôt bref. L'*a* se prononce en *ai* long généralement lorsqu'il est suivi immédiatement d'une consonne, et d'une *e* final. Exemple *fare*, *tare*, *care*, *grace*, *fable*, qui se prononcent ainsi, *faire*, *taire*, *caire*, *grace*, *faible* D'ailleurs, *a* se prononce en *ai* bref ou en *e* ouvert, lorsqu'il se trouve entre deux Consonnes, au milieu des Monosyllabes ; comme *hat*, *cap*, *mad*. Mais il approche du Son de nôtre *a*, à la fin des Noms en *al*, *ar*, & *ard* qui ont plus d'une syllabe. Exemple *general*, *special*, *animal*, *Grammar*, *altar*, *singular*, *particular* ; *mustard*, *custard*, *bastard*, *vizard*, & autres semblables. Excepté *regard*, qui se prononce *regaird* ; *award* & *reward* où il sonne comme en Français Dans le mot de *Jane* l'*a* se prononce on *e* masculin, *Dgène*.'

Fr *ai* had by this time evidently been smoothed into (*e*), so Mg's account fully harmonises with the other evidence.

779. Mg, like W., makes no qualitative distinction between short and long *a*. Cp, on the other hand, expressly states that the vowel in such words as *wane* was not the long of *ɪ* in *cat* etc, but of *e* in *ken*, which would make it either *ɪ* or *ɛ*. He finds this pure (*ee*) in the words *cane* and *wane*, in *ā* before (*ndʒ*) and (*dʒ*), as in *strange*, *age*, and in *ai*, as in *tail*: (*keen*, *ween*, *streendʒ*, *eedʒ*, *teel*). Elsewhere a vowel-murmur is added, as in *name* (*neeəm*), *tale* (*teeəl*) distinguished from (*teel*) = *tail*. The pure (*ee*) is evidently due to the influence of the front *i* in *ai* and the once front cons. (*dʒ*). This distinction between (*ee*) and (*eeə*) cannot, however, have been kept up long, for there is no trace of it in LE, in which Cp's two vowels are both represented by (*ei*), as in (*teil*) = *tail*, *tale*.

780. The vowel in all these words is ME \bar{a} or ai (in some cases au). But Cp also recognises a lengthening of his (æ) = ME a , as in *carp* ($k\text{æ}\text{ærp}$) contrasted with *car* ($k\text{æ}r$), *path* ($p\text{æ}\text{æ}\text{p}$) with *pat* ($p\text{æt}$). His examples are not enough to enable us to determine with certainty the conditions of this lengthening, but it seems to have been regular before r and s followed by another cons. ($k\text{æ}\text{ærp}$, $d\text{æ}\text{æ}rt$; $k\text{æ}\text{æ}st$, $g\text{æ}\text{æ}sp$), the short vowel being preserved before single r and sh ($k\text{æ}r$, $d\text{æ}f$). He has ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$) before (p) in ($p\text{æ}\text{æ}p$), and the analogy of LE would make us expect the same lengthening before single s in *glass* etc. This distinction between 'Modern-long' ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$) and 'Middle-long' (ee , $ee\text{ə}$) is borne out by LE, in which ($pa\text{æ}p$, $peit$) correspond to Cp's ($p\text{æ}\text{æ}p$, $pee\text{ət}$), ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$) having been broadened into (aa), while (æ) remains unchanged, as in ($p\text{æt}$). This Mn-long ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$) is not found in the fMn authorities, who write (a) in ($kast$) etc. It must, indeed, have come in after the change of fMn ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$) = ME \bar{a} into (ee), for otherwise we should have had $*(peip) = path$ in LE. Hence, on the other hand, if, as was highly probable, *path* had ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$) in W.'s pronunciation as well as Cp's, his *mane* cannot possibly have had ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$) also, but must have had Cp's (ee) or ($ee\text{ə}$). It now appears probable that Bt's distinction between a and \bar{a} (774) may, after all, have been identical with Cp's—that he, too, pronounced ($m\text{æ}n$, $meen$ or $mee\text{ə}n$).

781. The three sounds (æ , $\text{æ}\text{æ}$, ee), as in *man*, *path*, *name*, were preserved unchanged in thMn, except that (ee) was perhaps narrowed to (ee) [\dagger towards the end of the 18th cent. In LE they are represented resp. by (æ , aa , ei) ɹ , $\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$, $\text{f}\text{ɹ}$. The present (aa) is still ignored by Sheridan in 1780, who only admits ($p\text{æ}\text{æ}p$) etc.

782. The LE (aa) corresponds not only to Cp's ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$), but also to his (æ) when followed by r , so that his ($k\text{æ}r$) and ($k\text{æ}\text{ærp}$) both have the same vowel ($kaar$, $kaap$), which is, however, of totally different origin in the two words. In ($kaap$) = *carp* it is the result of an isolative change of ($\text{æ}\text{æ}$) into (aa); in ($kaar$) = *car* the change is combinative—due to qualitative influence of r which is so marked in thMn and LE (904). The stages of the latter change were ($k\text{æ}r$, kar , $ka\text{ər}$,

kaar), the *r* being then dropped when not followed by a vowel beginning the next word. eMn (æ) followed by *r* + a vowel in the same word is, in accordance with the general principle (905), kept unchanged, as in (nærou)=*narrow*.

783. It will be observed that LE (aa) always points to lME *a* (or *e* before *r*), never to *ā*, which in LE is represented by (ei) everywhere except before *r*, where it retains the earlier (ee)-sound, as in (hear)=ME *hāre*, contrasted with (haad)=ME *hard*. Exceptions are only apparent. Thus LE (raaðer) points to a ME *rafer*, the ME doublet *rāfer* being represented by the archaic vg (reiðer). (aar), again, corresponds not to the strong ME *āre*, but to the weak *are*, *ar*, the original strong form being represented by the vg (eær).

784. In fMn an *u*-glide was developed between *a* and *l*, as shown by Td's occasional spellings *faull*, *caulfe*=ME *falle*, *calf*. Salesbury says that in the English *calme*, *call*, the *a* 'is thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong *au*.' And again: 'Sometimes *a* has the sounde of the diphthong *aw* especially when it precedes *l* or *ll*, as may be more clearly seen in these words: BALDE *bawld* calvus, BALL, *bawl*, pila; WALL *wawll* murus.' In the next cent. this diphthong generally followed the fate of *au*=ME *au*, being smoothed into *ɶ*, whence our *ɶ* in (fəl) etc (859). For the *au* in eMn *a(u)nsuer* etc see 860.

785. In LE *a* and *ar* are rounded to (o) and (ɔ) resp. after *w*, as in (swolou, woz, wont, whot)=*swallow*, *was*, *want*, *what*, (dwɔf, swɔm, wɔp)=*dwarf*, *swarm*, *warp*. Also after *wr*=eMn *ω* (919) in (rɔp, rɔp)=*wrath* and the vg (rop)=*wrap* (ræp). lME *ā* is not affected in this way, *wāvien*, *wānien* appearing as (weiv, wein) *wave*, *wane* in LE. (wɔter) seems, together with (rɔp), to point to sMn (wææter), although the fMn authorities write the word with (aa). The first recognition of this influence of *w* is in Cp's statement that the *a* in *was* is a 'guttural' *o*. Wk still writes (wæz) in his phonetic transcription. Even in LE the rounding is barred by a back cons. following the vowel, as in (wæks, wæg, twæn) *wax*, *wag*, *twang*. Of course, where the combination (wɔ) is the result of parasiting before *l*, as in (wɔk)=*wa(u)lk*, a following back cons. has no effect.

i

786. The Welsh HVg and the transcriptions of Sb express E. *i* in some words by *i*, in others by *y*, not at random, but according to strict rules. *i* is used to express final weak *i*, before the back nasal in *ng*, *nk*, before *cht* (*ght*)=ŋɔ, and once before *sk*. *y* is written before the forward cons. *th*, *s*, *n*, *t*, and the lip cons. *v*, *m*. Of the following examples those that occur only in HVg are marked H, those which occur only in Sb are marked S, those which occur in both being left unmarked:

-i: ladi, michti H, redi H.

-ing: king, thing H, wyning H, blessing H, gelding S, begging S.

-ink: wrinkl S, twinkl S.

-icht: richt, knecht, micht H, bricht H.

-ish: wish H.

-yth: wyth H.

-ys: ddys, ys H, hys H, blys(s) H, thystl S.

-yn: wynn, yn H, syn H, thynn S.

-yt: yt H.

-yf: lyf 'live' H.

-ym: hym H.

Exceptions are very few. *is* for *ys* occurs once in HVg, and is no doubt a mere scribal error, as also *holy* in Sb against *holi*, *lili*. The first *i* of the latter word may be due to a syllabification *li-li*. Unfortunately there are no examples before *k* and *g*, where the analogy of the nasals would lead us to expect *i*.

787. In North Welsh *i* is narrow f both long and short, and *y* is I in some positions, I in others, Welshmen tending to identify our short f with their I. There can, therefore, be no doubt that in fMn *i* had the two sounds f and I, the original f being preserved before back and front cons., including the once fronted (j), and also finally. It is this narrow f which is probably indicated by the frequent eMn *ie* for *y* in *ladie* etc, and by the later *ee* in *coffee* etc, which could not well have

had long (ii). We now pronounce *f* everywhere, in *lady* as well as *king* etc. When the change took place before cons. it is impossible to determinate accurately. The widening must, however, have been completed in Cp's time, as shown by his pairing *meet* and *need* as short and long (777).

e

788. *e* is now *ɛ* in the South, *ɪ* in the North of E. and in Scotland. The eMn sound was probably *ɛ*, for *ɪ* would have either remained unchanged, or been widened to *ɪ*, or raised to [—a sound which, as we see from Cp's vowel-scale, did not exist in sMn (777).

789. The change of *e* into *a* before *r*, which was already carried out in lME in such words as *harieu*=older *herzien*, *harvest*=the normal *hervest*, is carried much further in MnE. *er* + vowel is preserved unchanged, except, of course, in *harry* and *tarry*, where the *a* is lME. All final *ers*, on the other hand, become *ar* in fMn, with the exception of the weak *her*, the older *e* only occurring in the earliest texts, the change being also very general when a cons. follows the *r*: *star* (*starre* Td, *sterr* Cheke), *far* (*farre* Td)=ME *sterre*, *fer*; *marsh*, *starve*, *dark* (*a*, *e* Td)=ME *mersh*, *sterven*, *derk*. *darling*, *farthing* point to shortness of the *e* in ME *derling*, *ferthing*. Many of the words in which the change has not taken place are written with *ea*, pointing to group-lengthening: *earl*, *earn* etc. Several of these, however, have (*aa*) in LE, such as *hearth*, *heart* (*herte* Td). As there seems no reason to suppose that the vowel of *herte* was ever lengthened, the spelling with *ea* may be a mere orthographic compromise between *hert* and *hart*, which last is the spelling of the phonetically identical equivalent of ME *hert* 'stag.'

790. The change of (*e*) into (*æ*) in the LE *thresh*, *thrash* is due to the preceding *r*, which has an analogous effect in *break* (821) and *broad* (841).

u

791. Sb transcribes short *u* with his Welsh *w* *ɪ*, as in *lost*, *buck*, *gut*. The HVg also has *w* in most words: *fwl* 'full,' *ws*, *kwning*, *swking*. But, remarkably enough, it has the same

symbol as it employs for *f* (786) in some words, nl *y*. In *synn* = OE *sunu*, *sunne* the *y* is constant. It occurs also in *yntro* 'unto,' *sym* (miswritten *synn*), *trysti*, *lyf* 'love,' *syts* 'such,' and in *sypprest*. In all of these cases, except the last, the analogy of *i*, *y* would lead us to expect a wide *ɪ*. The *y* of *syts* might be explained as the representation of a dialectal *ü* (800), but this will not apply to *synn*, and the conclusion seems inevitable that the writer of HVg meant to indicate a distinction between *ɪ* and *ɪ̃*. As *ɪ̃* has a lower pitch than *ɪ*, and consequently sounds less markedly rounded, and nearer the obscure (ə), it was natural to denote it by the Welsh *y* in its second value **ɪ̃**. That this symbolization was not carried out strictly, is evidently due to the ambiguity of using *y* in the two very different values *f* and *ɪ̃*. HVg also writes *y* for shortened *ɪ̃* = ME *ō* in *dynn* 'done,' the spelling *dywn* being apparently a compromise between *dyn* and *dwn*. The latter would be the more correct spelling, as the vowel was probably narrow.

792. The other fMn authorities give no indications of a distinction of wide and narrow (u); nor, indeed, do any of them give any clear account of the mechanism of the vowel. Smith, however, pairs *full* and *fool*, *to* and *too*, *but* and *boot* etc., as short and long, and Butler says that while *oo* and *u* long differ much in sound, 'when they are short they are all one; for *good* and *gud*, *blood* and *blud*, *woolf* and *wulf* have the same sound.' As *oo* had the sound *ɪ̃* in fMn (833), and as *full*, *to*, *wolf* preserve the sound *ɪ̃* to the present day, we may confidently assume that *but*, *luck*, *mud*, whose *u* Smith also pairs with *oo*, had either *ɪ̃* or *ɪ*. The fact that Florio in 1611 identifies the E. *u* in *tun*, *stud*, *dug* with the Italian close *o* **ɔ̃**, points clearly to *ɪ̃*, not *ɪ*, in these words at least.

793. In the phonetic writings of the sMn period we find the first indications of the change of *u* into a sound resembling our present **ɪ̃** in *but*. Wallis says:

'*U* vocalis quando corripitur effertur sono obscuro. Ut in *but* sed, *cut* seco, *bur* lappa, *burst* ruptus, *curst* maledictus, etc. Sonum hunc Galli proferunt in ultima syllaba vocis *serviteur*. Differt à Gallorum *e* feminino, non aliter quam quod ore minus aperto

effertur. Discrimen hoc animadvertent Angli dum pronunciant voces Latinas *iter, itur* ; *ter ter, turtur* ; *cerdo surdo* ; *ternus Tur-nus* ; *terris turris* ; *refertum, furtum, &c.*

In his theoretical part he gives the following further particulars of the French *e* *fœmininum* and the *u* *obscuro* :

‘Eodem loco,’ that is, *in summo gutture*, ‘sed apertura faucium mediocri,’ that is, less than for *â*, ‘formatur Gallorum *e* *fœmininum* ; sono nempe obscuro. Non aliter ipsius formatio differt à formatione præcedentis *â* aperti (*ja*), quam quod magis contrahuntur fauces, minùs autem quam in formatione Vocalis sequentis (*i*). Hunc sonum Angli vix uspiam agnoscunt ; nisi cum vocalis *e* brevis immediatè præcedat literam *r* (atque hoc quidem non tam quia debeat sic efferri, sed quia vix commodè possit aliter ; licet enim, si citra molestiam fieri possit, etiam illic sono vivido, hoc est, masculo, efferre ;) ut *vertue* virtus, *liberty* libertas &c.

‘Ibidem etiam, sed *Minori* adhuc faucium aperturâ sonatur *ò* vel *u* *obscuro*. Differt à Gallorum *e* *fœminino* non aliter quàm quodd ore minus aperto, labia proprius accedant. Eundem sonum ferè efferunt Galli in postrema syllaba vocum *serviteur, sacrificeur*, etc. Angli plerumque exprimunt per *u* breue, in *turn*, verito ; *burn*, uro ; *dull*, segnis, obtusus ; *cut*, seco, etc. Nonnunquam *o* et *ou* negligentius pronuntiantes eodem sono efferunt, ut in *côme*, venio ; *sôme*, aliquis ; *dône*, actum ; *company*, consortium ; *country*, rus ; *couple*, par ; *còvet*, concupisco ; *love*, amo, aliisque aliquot ; quæ alio tamen sono rectius efferri deberent. Cambro-Britanni ubique per *y* scribunt ; nisi quodd hanc literam in ultimis syllabis plerumque ut *i* efferant.’

794. Wilkins describes short *u* as ‘a simple letter, apert, sonorous, guttural ; being framed by a free emission of the breath from the throat.’

795. Holder has, as Mr. Ellis remarks, ‘very acutely anticipated Mr. M. Bell’s separation of the labial and lingual passages, and the possibility of adding a labial passage to every lingual one.’ He says :

‘In *o* the larynx is depressed, or rather drawn back by contraction of the aspera arteria. And the tongue likewise is drawn back and curved ; and the throat more open to make a round passage : and though the lips be not of necessity, yet the drawing them a little

rounder, helps to accomplish the pronunciation of it, which is not enough to denominate it a labial vowel, because it receives not its articulation from the lips. *Oo* seems to be made by a like posture of the tongue and throat with *o* but the larynx somewhat more depressed. And if at the same time the lips be contracted, and borne stiffly near together, then is made *8*; *u* with the tongue in the posture of *i* but not so stiff, and the lip borne near the upper lip by a strong tension of the muscles, and bearing upon it at either corner of the mouth.'

'*8* is made by the throat and tongue and lip; in *8* the tongue being in the posture, which makes *oo*; and in *u* in the same posture, which makes *i*, and in this *8* and *u* are peculiar, that they are framed by a double motion of organs, that of the lip, added to that of the tongue; and yet either of them is a single letter, and not two, because the motions are at the same time, and not successive, as are *eu*, *pla* &c. Yet for this reason they seem not to be absolutely so simple vowels as the rest, because the voice passeth successively from the throat to the lips in *8* and from the palate to the lips in *u*, being there first moulded into the figures of *oo* and *i*, before it be fully articulated by the lips. And yet either these two, *8* and *u*, are to be admitted for single vowels, or else we must exclude the lips from being the organs of any single vowel since that the mouth being necessary to conduct the voice to the lips, will, according to the shape of its cavity, necessarily give the voice some particular affection of sound in its passage, before it come to the lips; which will seem to make some such composition in any vowel which is labial. I have been inclined to think, that there is no labial vowel, but that the same affection from the lips may, somewhat in the nature of a consonant, be added to every of the vowels, but most subtly and aptly to two of them, whose figures are in the extremes of aperture and situation, one being the closest and forwardest, which is *i*, and the other most open and backward; there being reason to allow a vowel of like sound in the throat with *8*, but distinct from it as not being labial, which will be more familiar to our eye if it be written *oo*; as in *cut coot*, *full fool*, *tut toot*, in which the lip does not concur; and this is that other. Thus *u* will be only *i* labial, and *8* will be *oo* labial, that is, by adding that motion of the under-lip, *i* will become *u*, and *oo* will become *8*.' He proceeds to use his *i*, *u*, *8* in the formation of diphthongs and concludes thus: 'Concerning *8* and *u*, this may be observed, that in subjoining

them to another vowel, *ɜ* is apter to follow *a* and *o*, because of their resemblance in the posture of the tongue, as hath been said; and for the like reason *u* is apter to follow *a* and *e*, as *8a8l wawl*; *euge* etc. But generally if the vowels follow, then it is *ɜ* precedes and not *u*.¹

796. Cooper says :

'*U* formatur tantum in gutture, à larynge spiritum vibrante, nudum efficiente murmur, quod idem est cum gemitu hominis ægritudine vel dolore excruciat; quodque infantes (priusquam loqui valeant) primum edunt: Et fundamentum est, à quo omnes ceteræ vocales, variâ modificatione constituuntur Hunc sonum correptum vix unquam aliter pronunciant *Angli* quàm in *nut* nux; prout etiam in linguâ latinâ, ni ubi consonans præcedens sit labialis, ut prius dixi, et labiis dat formam quâ sonus plenior effertur, ut in *pull* vello, inter hos minima datur, datur tamen specifica, differentia; ille etenim sonus dilutior est, hic plenior, ille formatur a larynge tantum in gutture, hic à labiis contractis; dum itaque *o* labiis formatur in sono continuato, si recedant labia in oblongam formam formatur *u* gutturalis; in quibusdam scribitur per *o* ut, *to come*¹ venire; *Galli* hoc modo, vel saltem persimili, olim sonarunt fæminarum *e*, ut in *providence*. Germani syllabus *ham* et *berg* in propriis nominibus. Nunquam in proprio sono apud nos productum audiui, ni in musicâ modulatione, vel inter populos, præcipuè pueros cunctanter pronunciantes; pro longâ enim vocali assumit diphthongum *eu*.²

797. Miede says that short *u* is pronounced *o* (meaning Fr *o*) in *but*, *cut*, *rub*, *up*, *under*, *run*, *eu* in *us*.

798. As regards the formation of the sound, we learn nothing from Mg, and all we learn from Wk is, that it was a back vowel. Wk's statement that it is formed 'without any particular motion of the tongue and lips' would, if taken literally, point to some unrounded mixed vowel, such as *ɪ*. This would be very near our *ɪ*, but as W. and Holder agree in describing a very different sound, it seems safer to assume that Wk's statement is simply vague and inaccurate. W. states expressly that *u* is a back vowel of an obscure sound closely resembling the open Fr *eu* *ɸ*, formed with a narrower

¹ *come* is meant for the example, not *to* = (tu).

jaw-opening than the E. *e* in *virtue*, which he identifies with the Fr *e* feminine, this sound again being formed with a closer jaw-opening than the ɣ (now ɣ) of *fall*. The Fr vowel in *le* is now a half-wide ɛ , but as it is a weakening of *e*, being actually identified with ɛ by the Lyons phonetician Meigret in the 16th cent., there seems every reason to suppose that it may once have been ɛ , as in Gm *gabe*, which in some parts of South Germany is still ɛ . Anyhow, it is certain that sMn *e* in *her* etc must have had some such sound as ɛ , for it is now ɪ . W., then, distinguishes three back vowels according to height, his 'back' including 'mixed' as well:

high-back : ɪ or ɪ as in *but*, *bur*

mid-back : ɛ „ ɛ „ „ Fr *le*, E. *her*

low-back : ɔ „ ɔ „ „ *fall*.

Holder's description is equally clear, and can leave no doubt as to the value of his symbols: $\text{oo} = \text{ɪ}$, $\text{ɔ} = \text{ɛ}$, $\text{u} = \text{ɔ}$. He does not state expressly, as W. does, that ɪ was a high vowel, but he is quite explicit in identifying its tongue-position with that of ɛ . This much is therefore certain, that the first step in the change of ME *u* into the present ɪ was simple unrounding without change of tongue-position. This unrounding, again, was probably a gradual process, such as is now going on in Swedish, where original *u* is represented by ɪ , while u has become ɪ . It is quite possible that this unrounding had begun in fMn, which would make the identification of wide $\text{ɪ} = \text{ɪ}$ with Welsh *y* still easier (791). There must, therefore, have been a time when the *u* of *cut*, *full* was exactly half-way in sound between the (u)-group and the (ə)-group. It is to this period that we must probably refer the present return of (v) to the (u)-quality which has taken place regularly between a lip cons. and an ɛ , which in E. has always had something of an (u)-timbre, as shown by the fMn change of (al) into (aul) etc. (u) = ME *u* is, accordingly, now fixed in (wul, wulf, ful, pul, bulək), appearing also in some words before other cons. when *w* precedes: (wumən), (wud) 'silva' against (wandər) etc. But in the last two centuries there was considerable fluctuation, especially after *w* as in (wumən, wəmən). Buchanan and Sheridan still have (v) in *fulsome*

against (u) in *full*, and the tradition of (put, but) etc has not yet died out, being partly maintained by the influence of Midland and Northern speakers. Holder, indeed, even seems to unround (uu) = ME *ū*, as in *fool*, which he makes the long of *full*, in both of which he says 'the lip does not concur.' But as Cp give (u) in *full*, it seems probable that in Holder's pronunciation there was some rounding; as we see, W. ignores the undoubted rounding of *p*, and Holder himself, while admitting the rounding of *a*, does not consider it essential. The utmost we can allow, therefore, is, that Holder's *full*, *fool* were pronounced with *h*, *h* respectively. But as *oo* is still fully rounded in E., there is some difficulty in realizing such a pronunciation. According to Mr. Ellis, Holder makes a distinction between the vowels in *fool* and in *two*, which all earlier and later authorities identify. It really seems safest to assume that Holder's *u* in *but*, *full* etc was so exactly half-way between *h* and *l* that he was apt to confuse the sounds. This is confirmed by Cp's statement that the difference between the *u* in *nut* and *pull* though 'specific' is 'minute,' the two sounds differing only in the absence of rounding in the former, and its presence in the latter sound. When he says that *o* becomes *u* in *nut* when unrounded, he probably means by *o* the *u* of *full*, which he regards as the short of the *h* of *foal* (777). Mg heard the E. *u*—as foreigners still do—as a sound between his Fr *o* *h* and *eu* *h* or *h*.

799. We have no means of determining when *h* was lowered to its present representative *j*. Certainly not as long as (u) and (v) were confused, as they are by Holder, or continued to be almost identical, as Cp says they were. Hence we cannot accept Cp's identification of his *u* in *nut* with the natural or 'ur-vocal,' which is repeated by Jones in 1701. Lediard in 1725 still tends to confuse (u) and (v), which latter he describes as a quick, short German *a* *j* formed in the throat, which may be partly taken from Wallis, whom he follows closely. Of *u* in *full* he says that it has an obscure sound between German *u* short and E. (v). Gm *u* short is now *h* in North Germany—Ld learnt his Gm in Hamburg—so this remark seems to show that Ld's *u* in *full* was not so fully

rounded as in the present pronunciation, which is practically identical with the Gm. We may, therefore, assume that the complete separation of (u) and (ʊ) by the full re-rounding of the former and the lowering of the latter was not universally carried out till at least the middle of the 18th cent.

ü

800. In conformity with its EMI origin, MnE generally has *i* for OE *y*, as in *stir*, *sin*, *hip*. In some words *ü* became *u* in lME, as in *möche*, MnE *much* (mʊtʃ). Wherever we have (ʊ) in LE, we may assume an intermediate (u), as in *worry*, *trust*, *such*. A dialectal variety of *ü* in ME was *e*, preserved in MnE *merry*, *hemlock* etc. Our (beri) = OE *bebyrgan* points to a different dialect from the written *bury*. In (bizi) and the vg (sitʃ) the (i) answers to the written *u* of *busy* and *such*, and in *build* the spoken (i) = OE *y* is represented by *ui*, as also in *guilt*, though the *u* here is probably a mere sign of hardness of the *g*, as in *guest*. As there is no (u, ʊ)-pronunciation of *busy* and *build*, their (i) is probably not a dialectal variation, but an unrounding of (y), which, as shown by the *u*, must have survived into MnE. We have direct evidence of such a survival. Sb says:

‘*u* vowel, answers to the power of the two Welsh letters *u*, *w* and its usual power is *uw*, as shewn in the following words TRUE *truw* verus, VERTUE *vertuw* probitas. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latins or like our own *w*, as in the words BUCKE *bwck* dama mas, LUST *lwst* libido. But it is seldom this vowel sound corresponds with the sound we give the same letter, but it does in some cases, as in BUSY *busi*, occupatus aut se immiscens.’ Again in his pronunciation of Welsh he says: ‘*u* written after this manner *u*, is a vowel and soundeth as the vulgar English *trust*, *bury*, *busy*, *Huberden*. But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe wordes (notwythstanding the diuersitie of their sound) *sure*, *lucke*. Also the sound of *u* in French, or *ü* with two pricks over the heade in Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of *u* alludeth somewhat nere vnto the sound of it in Welshe, thoughe yet none of them all, doeth so exactly (as I thynk) expresse it, as the Hebraick Kubuts

doeth. For the Welsh *u* is none other thing, but a meane sounde betwyxte *u* and *y* beyng Latin vowels . . . and this vowell *u* alone amonge all the letters in Welsh, swarueth in sound from the true Latine pronounciation.'

Welsh *u* is now **I**, a sound which, although quite distinct in formation from the Fr **f**, is so like it acoustically as to be identified with it by unpractised Welsh ears. As Sb himself states that his *u* is distinct from, though similar to, the Fr *u* and Gm *ü*, there would be no difficulty in assuming that his Welsh *u* was the present **I**. But this is also one of the sounds of Welsh *y*—the vowels in *un dyn*, for instance, being both **I** or **I**·**I**. But the two vowels must have been distinct in Sb's time, for he identifies the Welsh *y* with the E. vowel in *synne* etc—that is, with **f**—and does not hint at any resemblance of Welsh *y* to Welsh or French *u*. He says that Welsh *u* lies between Latin *u* and *y*. As he says that Welsh *u* is the only Welsh vowel that diverges from the true Latin pronounciation, we may infer that to him the true Latin *y* was the Welsh **I**. As the other fMn authorities expressly contrast the '*u* Gallicum' with the '*u* Latinum' = **ɪ**, which last Smith finds in the E. *full*, *book* etc, there can be little doubt that Sb means to say that Welsh *u* lies between **ɪ** and **I** or **f**. This would give the Norwegian **ɪ** or Swedish **ɪ**· as his *u*, which is, however, improbable. Another hypothesis is, that the two sounds were **I** and **ɪ**, which last is near enough to **f** to justify Sb's identification of Welsh and E. *y*. A third is, that W. *y* was **f**.

801. Anyhow it is certain that Sb heard an f-like sound in the vulgar (vg London?) pronounciation of *bury*, *busy*, *trust*, *Huberden*, and probably of other words as well. The first three words had *ü* in ME, alternating with *i*, *e* and *u* according to dialect, and the last word contains the Fr *Hubert*, which of course had *ü*. The *ui* of *builld* ought to indicate a long vowel, and (byyld) is, in fact, one of the pronounciations given to this word by Gill.

o

802. There can be no doubt that the eMn *o* was, like its ME predecessor, an open sound, for Florio identifies the Italian

open *o* ʃ with the E. vowel in *god* and *dog*, and Cp after him tacitly excludes short ʃ from the list of E. sounds by confusing it with ʃ, just as Florio did before him. Florio also identifies It. ʃ with the long E. *o* in *stone* etc, which was certainly ʃ+ at this time (839), Smith also pairing *hop*, *hope*, Bullokar *not*, *no* as shorts and longs of the same sound. Gill, too, pairs *to coll*, *coale*, writing them *o*, *ω* resp., the latter being kept quite distinct from the ʃ+ of *tall*, which he writes *ā* and calls 'broad *a*.' It is, therefore, clear that fMn *o* kept its ME sound ʃ.

803. In sMn W. and Cp agree in pairing *folly* *fall* as perfect longs and shorts, showing that *o* had now been lowered to the present ʃ. W.'s account of the *o*-sounds is as follows:

'*ā* *ō* aperta: Si aperturā majori seu pleno rictu spiritus exeat, formatur Germanorum *ā* vel *ō* apertum. Neque Germani solū sed et Galli, alique non pauci, eodem sono suum *a* plerumque proferunt. Angli sonum illum correptum per *ō* breue; productum verò plerumque per *au* vel *aw*, rarius per *ā* exprimunt. Nam in *fāll*, *folly*; *hāll*, *haul*, *holly*; *cāll*, *collar*; *lawes*, *losse*; *cause*, *cost*; *aw'd odd*; *saw'd, sod*; aliisque similibus; idem prorsus Vocalium sonus auditur in primis syllabis, nisi quòd illic producatur his corripitur.

'*ō* *rotundum*. Majori labiorum apertura formatur *ō* *rotundum*; quo sono plerique proferunt Græcorum *ω*. Hoc sono Galli plerumque proferunt suum *au*. Angli ita fere semper proferunt *o* productum vel etiam *oa* (ipso *a* nimirum nunc dierum quasi evanescente; de quo idem hic judicium ferendum est ac suprā de *ea*): Ut, *one*, unus; *none*, nullus; *whole*, totus; *hole*, foramen; *coal*, carbo; *boat*, cymba; *oat*, avena; *those*, illi; *chose*, eligi; etc. At ubi *o* breve est, ut plurimum per *ō* apertum (de quo supra) rarius per *ō* *rotundum* pronunciatur.

'*Oo* sonatur ut Germanorum *ū* pingue, seu Gallorum *ou*. Ut in vocibus *good* bonus, *stood* stabam, *root* radix, *foot* pes, *loose* latus, *loose* laxo, amitto.

'Nonnunquam *o* & *ou* negligentius pronunciantes eodem sono' *ò* *ū* obscuro [v], 'efferunt, ut in *cōme*, venio; *sōme*, aliquis; *dōne*, actum; *cōpany*, consortium; *country*, rus; *cōuple*, par; *cōvet*, concupisco; *lōve*, amo; aliisque aliquot; quæ alio tamen sono rectius proferri debent.'

804. Wilkins pairs *folly*, *fall* and *full*, *fool*, leaving *foal* etc without any corresponding short. Cp agrees in the first pair, but not in the second. He says of *o*:

'O formatur à labiis paululùm contractis, dum *spiritus orbiculatus* emittur: ut in *hope* spes; productum semper, (nisi in paucis quæ per oo [uu] sonantur; et ante *l* per ou [ou] labiales: ut in *bold* audax) hoc modo pronunciant Angli, quem aliquando scribunt per oa; ut *coach* currus; correptus rarò auditur, nisi in paucis, quæ à consonante labiali incipiunt; ut post *w* in *wolf* lupus, *wonder* mirum; & in syllaba *wor*; plura non memini: in quibusdam *u* hoc modo pronunciat, ubi præcedens vocalis est labialis; ut *pull*, vello, *full* plenus; non quia debet, sed quoniam aliter faciliùs efferri nequit: Et oo in *good* bonus, *hood* cucullus, *wood* lignum; *I stood* steti; Galli per o ut *globe* globus, *proteste* protestor; in *copy* exemplar corripitur. *Germani* per o, ut *ostern* pentecoste; quem in principio dictionum ferè producant: in *wort* verbum; *Gott* Deus corripitur.'

805. W.'s *o* rotundum and Cp's *o* cannot well be anything but *ɝ*, being rightly identified with the Fr *au* and the Gm long *o*. The Gm short *o* is now *ɜ* in North, *ɝ* in South Germany: it is possible that the narrow sound prevailed formerly in North Germany also. W. says that short *o* is rarely pronounced with the short of *ɝ*. It is uncertain whether he is here alluding to the older *ɜ* in *folly*, or is, like Cp, identifying the *ɜ* of *come* with short *ɝ*.

806. Miede does not identify long *o* with the Fr *au*, but with the Fr *o*, with which he also identifies the short *o* when not pronounced (ʊ), adding 'il y a bien des mots ou l' *o* a un son mêlé de celui de l' *a*, et où sans scrupule on le peut sonner comme un *a*,' which is, of course, a recognition of the very open sound of the E. short *ɜ*.

807. In LE *o* is lengthened to (oo) before the same conss. which lengthen (æ) into (aa) (780), as in (frɔp, krɔs, frɔst, ɔf, ɔfn, sɔft) = *froth*, *cross*, *frost*, *off*, *often*, *soft*, the short (o) being kept before the voiced (z, v) in (gozliŋ, ov) = *gosling*, *of*, just as (æ) is preserved in (æz). The short (o) is, however, still common in (frɔp) etc, and some words never have (oo)—only (o), such as *moss*, *foster*, *gospel*. The lengthening of (o) was no doubt contemporary with that of (æ); Cp gives (oo) in *frost* with the remark 'fere semper producit o ante st.' W., on the other hand, does not yet acknowledge it, for he quotes

loss and *cost*, now (lɒs, kɒst), as containing short *o*. For the development of (ɔɔ) out of *or* see 905.

808. In fMn a parasite-(u) was developed between *o* and a following *l*, as in the case of *a* (784). Sb says: 'O before *ld* or *ll* is pronounced as though *w* were inserted between them, thus COLDE, *could* frigidus, BOLLE *bowl*, TOLLE *towl* vectigal.'

Long Vowels: ā

809. The change of ā through (ææ, ee) into the present (ei, eə) has been described at length under *a* (781). It only remains to note that the main sources of MnE (ææ) are new-long lME ā, as in *nāme*, and Fr ā, as in *blāme*, together with a few Northern ās from OE and Scand. ā, as in *hale*, *race* = OE *hāl*, OIcel. *rās*.

I

810. In HVg and Sb ME ī is transcribed *ei*. Thus HVg has *ei*, *abeiding*, *Kreist* = OE *ic* (ME ī) *onbīdung*, *Crīst*, Sb has *ei*, *ddein* etc, at the same time reprobatng the current E. pronunciation of Latin *tibi* as *teibei*. Smith, on the contrary, from his E. basis, considers (ei) to have been the real sound of Latin ī, saying

'I Latina, quae per se prolata, apud nos tantum valet quantum Latine, *ego*, aut *oculus*, aut *etiam*,'

where the diphthongal pronunciation of his *I* is identified with that of *aye*. Hart says plainly that E. *i* is sounded *ei*. Gill blames him for expressing *I* with *ei*, he himself having a simple sign for long *i*, nl *j*, which he carefully distinguishes from *ei* and *ēi* = (eei); he says:

'Differentia significationis (quoad fieri potest, & sonus permittit) orthografiā discernitur. Sic *J. ego. ei oculus, ēi ita*.'—'Nec *e*, sæpius præponitur *i*, dicimus enim *hēi*, adhortantes aut laudantes, & *ei* EYE oculus, *ēi* etiam, ita: vbi tamen sonus vocalis, exiguum distat ab illo qui auditur in *ḡjn* tuus, & *mjn* meus.'—'Communis dialectus aliquando est ambiguus. Audies enim *ḡai* aut *ḡei* THEY, illi.'—'*I*, est tenuis, aut crassa: tenuis est brevis, aut longa: brevis sic notatur *i*, vt in *sin* SINNE peccatum: longa sic *ī*, vt in *sin* SEENE visus, a, um: crassa autem fere est diphthongus *ei*; sed quia sono

exilior paulò quam si diffunderemur in e, retinebimus antiquum illum et masculinum sonum eumque signabimus hoc caractere *j*. vt in *sjn* SIGNE signum. Omnium differentia est in *win* WINNE vinco, *win* WEENE opinor, *wjn* WYNE vinum.'

He says of diphthongs generally :

'Nec tamen in omnium diphthongorum elatione, utrique vocali sonus integer ubique constabit. Etenim vocalis præcedens sæpe-numero acutiùs sonare videtur, & clariùs; in *ai* et *ei*, ita aures implere, ut .i. subiungi æquius esset, quam ad latus adhærere.'

alluding evidently to the Greek forms *α*, *η*. We are here told that the *j* is nearly identical with the diphthong *ei*, in which, however, the first element is more 'diffuse'. This would imply that in *j* the first element is shorter or less distinct. G. himself says it is 'thinner' than in *ei*, which would point to some such distinction as [ɛ, ʃɛ. But G.'s statements are so vague that all the certain result we get is that long *i* was a diphthong distinct from (ei) and (ai) or (æi), but closely resembling (ei). Now in Welsh the distinction between *ei* and *ai* is very marked: [ɛ, ʃɛ. It is, therefore, probable that Sb's identification of E. long *i* with Welsh *ei* really points to the present E. diphthong [ɛ, and that this is also the value of G.'s *j*, although G. does not state distinctly that the first element was obscure in sound. The diphthonging of the old *f* no doubt began with a partial lowering of the first half of the vowel, which would by further lowering develop either into [or, with the help of a slight retraction, into]: f-ɛ, [ɛ, [ɛ.

811. The descriptions of W. and Cp show that the fully developed sMn sound must have been the same as the present one. W. says:

'I vocalis quoties brevis est sonatur plerumque (ut apud Gallos aliosque) exili sono. Ut in *bīt* morsus, *will* volo, *still* semper, *win* lucro, *pīn* acicula, *sīn* peccatum, *fill* impleo. At quoties longa est plerumque profertur ut Græcorum *αι*. Ut *bīte* mordeo, *wīle* strata-gema, *stīle* stilus, *wīne* vinum, *pīne* tabe consumor, etc., eodem fere modo quo Gallorum *ai* in vocibus *main* manus, *pain* panis, etc. nempe sonum habet compositum ex Gallorum *è* foeminino et *i* vel *y*.'

812. Cp says :

'U in *Cut* et *i*, diphthongum facillimè constituunt, quam *i longam* vocamus; ut *wine*, vinum, hoc modo pronunciatur ante *nd* finales; ut *blind* cæcus, *wind* ventus: at *pin'd* pro *pinned* acicula subnexus; à verbo *to pin*; brevis est; *pined* marcidus; à *to pine* marceo; diphthongus est. Scribitur per *ui* in *beguile* fallo; *disguise* dissimulo; *guide* dux; *guidon* Imperatoris baculus: per *oi* in *in-join* in-jungo, *joint* junctura; *jointure* dos, *broil-torreo*, *ointment* unguentum.'

This identification of the first element of the diphthong with the (v) of *cut* need not, of course, be taken literally: it only means the first element was not (æ) or (e), but some obscure vowel.

813. The orthoepists of the 18th cent. agree generally with W. and Cp, although their analyses are often vague. The main divergence is that of Sheridan (followed by Knowles 1847), who sets up an Irish-E. pronunciation (oi), with the *a* of *fall*, the first element very short, and thus different from *oi*, meaning perhaps only a broad jɪ, or, possibly, jɪ.

814. There was, however, another dialect of fMn which preserved the old *i* unchanged—or, at any rate, undiphthonged. Palsgrave and Bullokar are the authorities for this pronunciation. Pg says:

'I in the frenche tong hath .ii. dyuerse maners of soundynges, the soundyng of *i*, whiche is most generally vsed in the frenche tong, is like as the Italians sounde *i*, and suche with vs as sounde the latin tong aright, whiche is almost as we sounde *e* in these words *a bee* a flie, *a beere* for a deed corps, *a peere*, a felowe, *a fee* a rewarde, a little more soundynge towards *i*, as we sound *i* with vs.'

'If *i* be the first letter in the frenche worde or the laste, he shall in those two places be sounded lyke as we do this letter *y*, in these words with vs, *by* and *by*, *a spy*, *a flye*, *awry*, and suche other: in whiche places in those frenche bokes, as be diligently imprinted, they vse to writte this letter *y*: but whether the frenche worde be written with *i* or *y*, in these two places he shall be sounded, as I have shewed here in this rule, as in *ymage*, *conuert*, *ydo*, *estourdy*, in whiche the *y* hath suche sounde, as we wolde give him in our tong.'

'For as moche as *v* and *i* come often together in the French tonge,

where as the *v* hath with them his distinct sounde, and the *i* is sounded shortly & confusely, which is the proprete of a diphthonge. I reken *vi* also among the diphthonges in the frenche tong, whiche whan they come together, shall haue suche a sounde in french wordes, as we gyue hym in these wordes in our tong, *a swyne*, *I dwyne*, *I twyne*, so that these wordes, *agvysér*, *agvyllón*, *condvyre*, *dedvyre*, *aviourdhvy*, *meshvy*, and all suche shall sounde theyr *v* and *i* shortly together, as we do in our tong in the words I have gyven example of, and nat eche of them distinctly by himself, as we of our tong be inclined to sound them, whiche wolde rather say *aviourdhvÿ*, *dedvÿt*, *saufcondvÿt*, gyuyng both to *v* and *i* theyr distinct sounde, than to sounde them as the frenche men do in dede, which say *aviourdhvy*, *dedvyt*, *saufcondvyt*, soundyng them both shortly together, and so of all suche other.'

815. The object of this last passage is to warn Englishmen against pronouncing Fr *ui* as dissyllabic *ff* instead of as a diphthongic *fr*, which monosyllabic pronunciation Pg exemplifies roughly by the E. *swyne*, although here, of course, it is not the *i* which is made into a glide, but the *w*. The important point is his distinct identification of long E. in *by*, *swyne* etc with Fr *f*. His retention of the ME sound is made a-priori probable, or at least possible, by the fact that in his pronunciation ME *ē* in *bee* etc—all his examples are of ME *ē*, not *ē̄*—had not yet become full *f*, as was elsewhere the case in fMn (818), but had only got as far as a very close (Danish) [*ʌ*], a sound between [*ɪ*] and [*f*]. It must, however, be noted that Pg identifies the E. sound only with the initial and final Fr *i*, implying that the medial Fr *i* was not identical with the E. long *i*. This reservation, taken in connection with his statement about *ū* (827) makes it possible that his long *i* was, after all, not absolutely identical with *f*, being, perhaps, a slightly diphthonged sound—*f-r*. If so, the pure *f* was wanting in his sound-system.

816. Bullokar says:

'I, hath two soundes, the one agréeing to his olde & continued name, and is then a vowell, the other sounde agréeing to the old name of *g*, and of my *g'* [*dʒ*], and is then a consonant.'

He gives as examples:

'I ly in my sisterz kitchen with a pillo'w besýd her peticót, and thy whyt pilion,'

where the accent denotes length. He has no other distinction between long and short *i* but the accent. He says of *e*:

'*e* hath two soundes, and vowels both, the one flat, agréeing to his old and continued name: and the other sounde more sharpe and betwene the old sound of the old name of *:e:* and the name of *:i:* for such difference the best writers did use *:ea:* for *:e:* flat and long: & *ee*, *ie*, *eo* for *:e:* sharpe.'

This statement is identical with Pg's, pointing clearly both to [+ = ME *ē* and f+ = ME *ī*, for there would be no sense in saying that [+ (or f+) lay between f+ and ʃ+ or any other diphthong; we must, therefore, assume that Bll agreed with Pg in preserving ME *ī* unchanged, or nearly so.

ē, ē

817. The ME sounds *ē* and *ē*, *ē* are in MnE distinguished as *ee* and *e*, *ea*: *heel*, *meet*; *heal*, *meat*, *mete* = OE *hēla* (*ē*), *gemētan* (*ē*); *hēlan*, ME *mēte* (OE *mēte*), *mēten* (OE *metan*). Final *ee* is shortened to *e* in subordinate words, as in *he*, *me*, which are often written *hee*, *mee* in eMn; we still write *ee* in the less familiar *thee*, partly to distinguish it from *the*. This MnE *ea* (as also the parallel *oa*) is probably a purely phonetic spelling, the *a* being added to indicate the opener sound. It occurs, however, at least once in the Ellesmere ms of Ch (*teare* 'lacrima'), and several times in TM: *cheape*, *peasse*. It is, therefore, possible that it was suggested by some tradition of the eSth spellings *heaved* etc. The ME *ie* was also employed to denote the closer sound, as in *believe*, *field* = OAngl. *gelēfan*, *fēld*. In the earliest fMn books *ea* is hardly used at all. Caxton, who often writes *ie* for ME *ē*, does not employ it, and Mr. Ellis notes that even in Palsgrave's text (1530) it is very rare, though he employs it freely in his vocabularies. Tindal is, as usual, in advance of his time in his extensive use of *ea*, although he is irregular, as the following examples will show:

ē: ye *prn*, se *vō*, fle, sene, slepe. deed, need. feale, deades.
 ē: bred, est, este. yee 'yea,' see *sb*; breede. greate, meate.
 yer 'ere' *adv*, biestes.

It will be observed that Td regularly assigns *ee* final to \bar{e} , in direct opposition to the later usage. His constant *ie* = \bar{e} in *biest* 'beast' is also a remarkable divergence from the later usage. His *ea* in *dead* = 'deed' may be a dialectal reminiscence of WS *dǣd*, though AR etc have *dēd*. Td has the usual MnE *ea* in *heare*, *deare* = OE *gehēran*, *dēore*, in which the \bar{e} was probably broadened by the *r*.

818. Pg says:

'*E* in the frenche tong hath thre dyverse sowndes, for somtyme they sownde hym lyke as we do in our tonge in these words, *a beere*, *a beast*, *a peere*, *a beene* and suche lyke . . . The sowndyng of *e*, whiche is most generally kepte with them, is suche as we gyve to *e* in our tong in these wordes aboue rehersed, that is to say, lyke as the Italianes sounde *e*, or they with vs that pronounce the latine tonge aright: so that *e* in frenche hath neuer such a sownde as we vse to gyue hym in these wordes, *a bee* suche as maketh honny, *a beere* to lay a deed corps on, *a peere* a make or felowe, and as we sounde dyuers of our pronownes endyng in *e*, as *we*, *me*, *the*, *he*, *she*, and suche lyke, for suche a kynde of soundyng both in frenche and latine, is allmoste the ryght pronounciation of *i*, as shall here after appere.'

This passage, taken in connection with those already cited from Pg himself and Bl (814, 816), is a clear statement that ME \bar{e} in such words as *he*, *the*, *she*, *we*, *me*, *bee*, *bier*, *peer* had the very close, *i*-like sound [ɪ], while ME \bar{e} in such words as *bear* 'ursus', *pear*, *beast*, *bean* had an opener sound, which Pg compares to the Fr and Ital. *e*. He does not tell us whether these words had the sound of the close Ital. and Fr [e], or of the open (*ee*) = [e] or [ɛ]. In the absence of any direct evidence, we may assume that ME \bar{e} kept its open sound in fMn.

819. HVg and Sb express the two sounds by Welsh *i* I and *e* [ɛ] respectively. Thus HVg has *wi*, *wiri*, *kwin*, *dids*; *leving*, *leding*, Sb has *tsis* 'cheese', *kwin*; *efer*, *bred* 'bread'. As Welsh has no [ɛ], the *e* does not point necessarily to (*ee*), or the *i* to [ɪ] in E. As regards *we* etc it is, indeed, possible that the Welsh *i* may mean [ɪ], as in Pg's and Bl's pronounciation.

820. All the other authorities agree in pairing *win*, *ween*

etc as containing the long and short of the same vowel. As soon as the long *i* of *wine* had become a distinct diphthong, the close (ee) of *ween* was moved up into its place, giving (wiin), a pronunciation which has lasted almost up to the present day, and of which our æf-f-ʊ is but a slight modification.

821. The narrowing of (ee) into [ɪ] would naturally follow the disappearance of [ɛ̃]. W. says:

'e profertur sono acuto claroque ut Gallorum é masculinum,' except before *r*; 'ea effertur nunc dierum ut é longum: sono ipsius a penitus suppresso, et sono literæ e producto. Nempe illud solum præstat a ut syllaba reputetur longa. Ita met obviam factus, meat victus, set sisto, sedere facio, seat sella, etc., non sono differunt nisi quod vocalis illic correpta, hic producta intelligatur.'

Here the statement that *met*, *meat* etc differ only in length must not be taken too literally, for W.'s main object evidently is to impress on his readers that the *a* in the latter word is simply a mark of length. The expressions 'sharp' and 'clear', and the comparison with Fr *é*, which is repeated by Mg, point distinctly to narrow (ee), which W. strictly separates from the *a* of *mane*, this latter sound having itself become an open (ee) before W.'s time (780). All doubt is removed by Cp's pairing of *will* and *weal* æf-w , *ken* and *cane* æf-n or æf-n . It appears from Cp's lists that in sMn ME ē was regularly represented by close (ee), as in *weal*, *wean*,* *break*, remaining open (ee) before *r* (with some exceptions) as in *bear*, *earl*, *earn*. (ee) also, according to Cp, in *scream*, where it is due to the preceding *r*. The other authorities do not make this distinction of (ee) and (ee), so their (ee) is ambiguous as regards narrowness.

822. Towards the middle of the 18th cent. the sMn (ee) became (ii), not only in *sea*, *heal* etc, but also, in the mouths of many speakers, in such words as *break*, *great*, which are now always pronounced with (ei) = sMn (ee), which was preserved by the preceding *r*.

823. There is a certain fluctuation between (ee) and (ii) in eMn. The *ea* before *r* in *hear*, *weary*, *fear*, *dear* no doubt at

first indicated a real broadening, but this cannot have been general, for these words have (ii) assigned to them by numerous eMn authorities, the spelling *ea* being probably kept up partly to distinguish such pairs as *dear*, *deer*=ME *dēre*, *dēr*, *fear*, *ferē*=ME *fēr*, *fēre*, *hear*, *here*=ME *hēre*(n), *hēr*. The spellings *ferē*, *here* instead of **feer*, **heer* seem to point to occasional broadening in these words also. One result of this confusion between fMn (*eer*) and (iir) was that many *-ear* words with *ea*=ME *ē* took the sound of (iir) in sMn, such as *smear*, *near*, *tear* sb. Otherwise (ii)=ME *ē* is rare in eMn, the chief instances being *evil* and *even*.

824. In many words, especially before the stop *d*, ME *ē* was shortened to *e* in fMn, and, of course, remained unchanged in the later periods: *health*, *breath*, *heavy*, *head*, *bread*, *breadth*, *threat*. So also ME *ē*, especially before *t*, as in *let*, *wet*.

825. There is a curious passage in Gill, from which it appears that the 18th cent. (ii) for (ee) had already developed itself in fMn, but only as an effeminate affectation. After observing that the eastern English are fond of thinning their words, saying (fir, kiver, deans) for (føier, kuver, dans), *fire*, *cover*, *dance*, he goes on to say:

‘ισχυρότητα autem illam magnopere affectant πυγοστόλοι nostræ Mopsæ quæ quidem ita omnia attenuant, vt *a* et *o*, non aliter perhorrescere videantur quam Appius Claudius z. sic enim nostræ non emunt (lōon) *lawn*, et (kaambrik) *cambric*, sindonis species; sed (leen) et (keembrik); nec edunt (kaapn) *capon* caponem, sed (keepn) et ferē (kiipn); nec unquam (butferz meet) BUTCHERS MEAT carnem à lanijis, sed (bitferz miit). Et quum sunt omnes (dzintlimin) non (dzentlwimen) *gentlewomen*, i.e. matronæ nobiles, nec *maids* ancillas vocant (maidz) sed (meedz). Quod autem dixi de *a*, recanto; nam si quando ð gravistrepum audiretur, locum concedunt ipsi *a*, sic enim aliquoties ad me pippiunt (æi pre ja gii jar skalerz liiv ta pleē) pro (æi prai jou giv juur skolars leev tu plai), *I pray you give your scholars leave to play*. Quæso concede tuis discipulis veniam ludendi.’

Such a pronunciation as (miit) for (meet)=*meat* would probably, as Mr. Ellis observes, have sounded as affected to Cooper and his contemporaries as it did to Gill himself.

五

826. *ou* = ME *ū* is transcribed by the Welsh *ow* ʃ in HVg and Sb. Thus the HVg has *now, ovr, down, owt* = OE *nū, ūre, ofdūne, ūt*, and Sb has *now, ddow*. Cheke, Smith, Hart, and Gill also analyse the sound as (ou). They all agree in making the first element short—(nou). The diphthonging of *ū* is, therefore, quite parallel to that of (ii): ʃ passed through ʃ-ʃ into ʃʃ, which was afterwards diverged into (əu). Wallis says of the *ou, ow* in *sow, house, out* etc that it is pronounced with an obscure sound composed of obscure *ò* or *ù* (v) and *w*, and Cp's description agrees (see the passages quoted in full 885, 886). Lediard identifies the E. diphthong with the Gm *au* ʃʃ. Sheridan analyses it into (əu), parallel to his (əi) = long *i*, meaning probably the same sound as Lediard. The present sound is ʃʃ, with the first element lower than in ʃʃ-. The older pronunciation of sMn was probably ʃʃ, of which ʃʃ and ʃʃ (still preserved in America) are independent developments.

827. We would expect that dialect of fMn which preserved ME *ī* as a monophthong—that of Pg and Bll—also to have preserved *ū*. Pg says:

'Ov in the frenche tong shalbe sounded lyke as the Italians sounde this vowel v, or they with vs that sounde the latine tong aright, that is to say, almost as we sounde hym in these wordes, a cove, a mowe, a sowe, as *oultre*, *soudajyn*, *ovbliër*, and so ofsuche other.'

We gather with certainty from this passage that ME *ō* had not yet passed into its usual fMn sound (uu), and that the nearest approach to Fr *ī* in Pg's pronunciation of E. was the old *ū* in *cowe*=OE *cū* etc. If the 'almost' is to be taken literally, we can only infer—as in the case of *ī* (815)—that old *ū* had been very slightly diphthonged in Pg's pronunciation.=*ī-ī*.

828. Bll says :

'O hath three soundes, and all of them vowels; the one sound agreeing to his olde and continued name, another sound, betwene the accustomed name of, o, and the old name of, v, and the same sound long, for which they write oo, (as I do also, but giuing it a proper name, according to the sound thereof), the thirde sounde

is as, *v*, flat and short, that is to say, as this sillable *ou*, short sounded: for which some of the better learned did many times use, *oo*, & *v*, according to their sounds, but most times with superfluous letters.'

He illustrates the three sounds by the words:

- (1) *sonne* filius, *vpon*, *bosome* (first vowel), *corne*, *close*.
- (2) *sonne* sol, *out*, *bosome* (second vowel), *come*.
- (3) *loked*, *toke*, *boke*, *sone*.

'U also hath thrée soundes: The one of them a méere consonant, the other two soundes, are both vowels: the one of these vowels hath a sharpe sound, agréeing to his olde and continued name: the other is of flat sound, agreeing to the olde and continued sound of the diphthong: *ou*: but alwaies of short sounde.'

Here, instead of pairing (u) in *sun* with the vowel of *soon* = ME *sōne*, as Sm and the others do, he puts the latter in a class by itself, and pairs (u) with the *ou* = ME *ū* of *out*, implying that the latter was still *ɪ* in his pronunciation.

829. In *room*, *stoop*, *droop* = OE *rūm*, *stūpian*, OIcel. *drūpa*, ME *ū* has been preserved up to the present time (except that in the first word the vowel is now generally shortened), evidently by the influence of the following lip-conss. The preservation of group-lengthened ME *ū* in the subst. *wound* may be due to the preceding *w*. The preservation of *ū* before (p) in *youth* and *uncouth* is anomalous.

ū

See under *ēu* (861).

830. The only native *ū*-word preserved in MnE appears to be *bruise* = IWS *brȳsan* (Angl. *brēsān*).

ō

831. In MnE the ME *ō* and *ô*, *ô* are distinguished as *oo* and *o*, *oa*: *soon*, *stone*, *boat* = ME *sōne*, *stōn*, *bōt*, final *oo*, as in *too*, being sometimes shortened to *o*, as in *to*, *do*, and *oe* being often written for final *o(a)*, as in *doe*, *toe* against *so*, *no*. The digraph *oa* was evidently formed on the analogy of *ea*, for it came into general use later than the *ea*. It is rare in Td,

who writes *o* and *oo* nearly at random, as in ME. The following are examples of his spellings :

ō: boke, sone. too *ppp*, floore, good. bourd, bloud. shues.

o: holi, loth. soo, goo, go(o)st. moare, broade.

832. The passages already cited from Pg and Bll (827, 828) show that in their pronunciation ME *ō* had not yet been changed completely into (uu), as in the pronunciation of the other fMn authorities: Pg and Bll probably pronounced *book* exactly as the Swedish *bok*—*oʝʊɑ*.

833. The HVg and Sb identify the sound with Welsh *w* *ī*. Thus HVg writes *muddyr*, *gwd*=ME *mōder*, *gōd*, and Sb writes *tw* 'to, two', *scwl*, *gwd*=ME *tō*, *twō*, *scōle*, *gōd*. The other fMn authorities (except Pg and Bll) agree, pairing *full* and *fool* etc as short and long (792).

834. In sMn we find W. identifying E. *oo* with the Gm long *u* and the Fr *ou* (803). That it was narrow,=*ī*, is made certain by Cp's refusing to pair *full* and *fool* as long and short. It would be superfluous to prove that the sound *ī* lasted through thMn, till it was diphthonged in the present cent. into *ī-ī*, *īə*, probably through *ī-ī*.

835. fMn (uu) was shortened to (u) in some words, especially before (ð), (d) and cons.-groups. The shortening is, of course, oldest in those words which are written with *u*=LE (v), such as *gum*, *rudder*=ME *gōme*, *rōper*, but we must assume an at least occasional fMn shortening in all words with LE (v)=ME *ō*, as in *doth*, *other*, *mother*, *done*, *flood*, *blood*, *month*, *monday*. Td has *fludds*=*floods*.

836. There is a further sMn shortening of (uu) to (u), which (u) is of course preserved in LE, the change of the earlier (u) to (v) having been carried out before this new shortening began. With a few exceptions this shortening is general before stops, and occurs before other cons. also: (buzəm, buk, fut, stud)=*bosom*, *book*, *foot*, *stood*. The shortening in such words as (huf, spun, rum)=*hoof*, *spoon*, *room* is still later, the long (uw) being still retained by many speakers. The shortening before stops also was not general even in thMn, in which *book* still had (uu). But, on the other hand, we find (gud) as well as (guud) in fMn, although W. has only (uu). Hence

the sMn doublets (gud, gud) etc, the first coming from fMn (gud), the second from fMn (guud). These shortened sMn (u)s must have been narrow ɪ at first. It is uncertain whether Cp's *j'oot* really means >ɪʊ, or only >ɪʊ with half-long vowel.

ō

837. Palsgrave says :

'O in the frenche tong hath two diuers maners of soundynges, the soundyng of o, whiche is most generall with them, is lyke as we sounde o in these words in our tonge a boore, a soore, a coore, and suche lyke, that is to say, like as the Italians sounde o, or they with vs that sounde the latin tong aright.'

The last two examples show that the first word is meant for *boar* = OE *bār*, all the words having ME *ō* or *o*.

838. Salesbury says :

'O in Welsh is sounded according to the right sounding of it in Latin: eyther else as the sound of o is in these Englyshe wordes : a *Doe*, a *Roe*, a *Toe*: and o never soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these wordes of Englysh : *to*, *do*, *two*.'

And again, speaking of English, he says :

'O takes the sound of [Welsh] o in some words, and in others the sound of w; thus *to*, *to*, *digitus pedis*; so, *so*, sic; *two*, *tu*, *duo*; *to*, *tu* ad; *SCHOLE*, *scuol*, *schola* . . . But two oo together are sounded like w in Welsh, as *GOOD* *gud* bonus; *POORE* *pwr* pauper.'

Here the open E. o in *toe* = OE *tā* etc is identified with the Welsh o ɨ. The HVg has also *pop* = *pope* (OE *pāpa*).

839. Smith pairs as containing short and long 'o latina' the following words, which are here given in their present spelling :

Short: smock, horse, hop, sop, not, rob, bot, pop.

Long: smoke, hoarse, hope, soap, note, robe, boat, pope.

All the longs are ME *ō*, as in *soap*, or *o*, as in *hope*.

The others give similar pairs (802). Florio identifies the vowel in E. *stone*, *tone*, *bone* with the Italian open o ɨ. There can, therefore, be no doubt that ME *ō* and *o* had the open sound (oo) in fMn ɨ, which in the next period becomes ɨ, pointing to fMn ɨ rather than to ɨ or ɨ, one of which

(probably the former) was, besides, the usual fMn sound of ME *au* (856), which is still kept quite distinct from the *o* of *stone*. It is not improbable that some fMn speakers made a distinction between ME *ō* and *o*, but we have no means of proving such a distinction.

840. There is full evidence of the narrowness of the sMn *o* in *stone* etc (805), and this pronunciation continued down to the diphthonging in the present *jo*.

841. In *broad* and in thMn *groat* we have (ɔə) corresponding to ME *ō*, *o* by the influence of the preceding *r*, parallel to the retention of (ei)=sMn (ee) in *great*.

842. The development of a parasite-(u) between fMn (oo)=ME *ō* and a following *l* (cp 808) is shown in the spellings *owld*, *howld* etc=*old*, *hold* in HVg, and is confirmed by the other authorities.

Diphthongs: ai, ei

843. The IME tendency to confuse *ai* and *ei* is observable in MnE orthography also, where *ai*, *ay* is written not only for ME *ai*, as in *day*, *fair*, *nail*, *slain*, *maid*, but also very generally for ME *ei*, as in *way*, *sail*, *raise*, *rain*, *laid*, for *ēi* in *hay*, *bewray*, and for *ĕi* in *clay*, *stairs*. *ey*, *ei*=ME *ei* is still preserved in *they*, *their*. As the representative of ME *ēi*, *ĕi* it is more frequent; *grey*; *key*, *whew*, *either*. *ei* is always written before *gh*: *neigh*, *neighbour*, *eight*, *weight*. The spelling still varies in *gray*, *grey*. Td varies between *ay* and *ey* in *graye*, *greye*, *rayne*, *reyne*. He writes *kaye* throughout.

844. The HVg has *ei* only in *ddei*, *ddey*. In all the other words it has only *ai*, *ay*, *ae*, as in *aish* 'ask', *day*, *dae*, *away*, *awae*, *kae*, *agaynst*, *maedyn*. Sb has no example of *ei*, writing *vayne* both for *vein* and *vain* in his E. examples, and transcribing it phonetically as *vain*. In the other words he transcribes with *ay*, as in *nayl*. This fluctuation between *i*, *y*, *e* as the second element of the diphthong shows that it was not full *r* as in the Welsh *ai* *ʃr*. Welsh *ae* is now *ʃr*, but the *ay* points rather to *ʃr* as the E. diphthong.

845. Palsgrave's distinction between *ai* and *ei* is very clear:

'*Ei* vniversally through out all the frenche tong shalbe sounded like as he is with *vs* in these wordes, *obey*, *a sley*, *a grey*, that is to say, the *e* shall have his distinct sounde, and the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely, as *conseil*, *uermeil*, and so of all suche other.'

'*Ai* in the frenche tong is sounded lyke as we sounde *ay* in these wordes in our tong *rayne*, *payne*, *fayne*, *disdayne*, that is to say, *a*, distinctly and the *i* shortly & confusely.'

846. Smith, on the other hand, says that the difference between them is minute, and that some words have (ei) in the mouth of one speaker, (ai) in that of another, effeminate speakers substituting (ei) for (ai) generally (probably through *fr*):

'Inter *Ai* & *Ei* diphthongos minima differentia est, præsertim apud nostrates, apud nos tamen audiuntur hi soni. (Fein) fingere, (deinti) delicatus, (peint) pingere, (feint) languidus. Sed non hæc tantum verba per *ei* pronuntiantur, sed cætera omnia per *ai* scripta mulierculæ quædam delicatiores, et nonnulli qui volunt isto modo videri loqui vrbanius per *ei* sonant, vt hæc ipsa quæ nos per *ei* scribimus, alij sonant et pronuntiant per *ai*, tam ἀδιάφοροι sumus in his duntaxat duabus diphthongis Angli.'

'Est diphthongus omnis sonus è duabus vocalibus conflatus ut: *AI*, (pai) solvere, (dai) dies, (wai) via, (mai) possum, (lai) ponere, (sai) dicere, (esai) tentare, (tail) cauda, (fail) deficere, (faain) libens ac volens, (pain) pœna, (disdain) dedignor, (claim) vendico, (plai) ludere, (arai) vestire seu ornare. In his est utraque litera brevis apud vrbanius pronunciantes. Rustici utranque aut extremam saltem literam longam sonantes, pinguem quendam odiosum, et nimis adipatum sonum reddunt. (Paai) solvere, (daai) dies, (waai) via, (maai) possum, (laai) ponere. Sicut qui valde delicatè voces has pronuntiant, mulierculæ præsertim, explicant planè Romanam diphthongum *ae*. AE diphthongus Latina. *Pae* solvere, *dae* dies, *vae* via, *mae* possum, *lae* ponere.' 'Scoti et Transtrentani quidam Angli voces has per impropriad diphthongum Græcam *æ* proferunt ut nec *i* nec *e* nisi obscurissime audiatur. A diphthongus improprie Græca (paa, daa, waa, maa, laa).'

By the 'Latin diphthong *ae*' Sm probably means (*ee*), as it is not possible that he would note such a minute distinction as *fr*, *fr*, and we know that *ae* was regarded as an *e*-sound in the Middle Ages, being, indeed, often written *e*.

847. Gill (810) distinguishes (ei, eei) from (ai, aai), as in (ðei, ðeeir; daai, wai, waai).

848. Butler says:

'The right sound of *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *eu*, *oi*, *ou*; is the mixed sound of the two vowels, whereof they are made: as (bait, vault, hei, heu, koi, kou): no otherwise than it is in the Greek.'

'But *ai* in imitation of the French, is sometime corruptly sounded like *e*: as in *may*, *nay*, *play*, *pray*, *say*, *stay*, *fray*, *slay*: specially in words originally French, as in *pay*, *baili*, *travail*: though *plaid* have lost his natural orthography, and we write as we speak *plead*.'

Here the coexistence of the two pronunciations (ai) or (æi) and the smoothing (ee) is clearly stated.

In some pronunciations this smoothing had taken place much earlier. Hart in 1569 omits (ai) altogether from his list of diphthongs, and transcribes *ai* by (ee), for which he is severely blamed by Gill, writing fifty years later, who contrasts Hart's (ue, ðe) with his own (wai, ðei).

849. The diphthong survived even into the sMn period. Wallis says that *ei*, *ey*, were (ei) or even simply (ee) without the (i), but adds, 'Nonnulli tamen plenius efferunt, acsi per *ai* scripta essent.' The diphthong *ai* he upholds still as a diphthong, '*Ai* vel *ay* sonum exprimunt compositum ex *á* Anglico (hoc est, exili) correpto, et *y*. Ut in voce *day* dies, *praise* laus.' This would give (ðei) etc, which is also Wilkins's notation.

850. Cp says:

'Vera hujusce soni [vowel in *ken*] productio scribitur per *a*, atque *a* longum falsò denominatur, ut in *cane* canna hic sonus, quando purè sonatur,' that is when it is not (eeə), 'scribitur per *ai* vel *ay*; ut *pain* dolor, *day* dies; quæ hoc modo in omnibus fere dictionibus plerumque pronunciantur: per *ey* in *convey* deporto, *obey* obedio, *purvey* rebus necessariis provideo, *survey* listro, *they* illi, *trey* trulla, *wey* serum lactis: quandoque rarò autem per *ea*; ut *pearl* margarita.

Corripitur in
sell vendo
sent missus

Producitur in
sail navigo
saint sanctus

tell nuncio
tent tentorium

tail cauda
taint inficio.

This makes *ai* (*ee*) except in a few words. But afterwards he says:

'*Ai* leniùs prolata sonatur ut *a* in *cane*; fortius, plenum assumit sonum diphthongi *ai*; ut *brain* cerebrum, *frail* fragilis; *ay* finalis ut *a*, sic *day* dies; *ai* ante *r* scribitur pro *a* in *affairs* res, *airy* aereus, *dairy* lactarium, *debonair* candidus, *despair* despero, *fair* pulcher, *fairy* lamia, *hair* crinis, *pair* par, *repair* reparo, *stairs* scala; cætera cum *are*; ut *are* sunt, *dare* audeo *Ai* in *bargain* pactum, *captain* dux, *certain* certus, *chaplain* capellanus, *curtain* velum, *forrain* extraneus, *fountain* fons, *mountain* mons, *villain* furcifer, & prior *ai* in *maintain* sonatur ut *a* correptum sive *e* breve.' Again he says: 'Sonus *a* in *I can* possum; *I cast* jacio; conjunctus cum *i* sonum literæ *ee* exprimente; constituit diphthongum in *bait* esca; *caitiff* homo improbus; *ay* pro *I* vel *yea* imo; & *eight* quam vulgariter pronunciamus *ait*. Plures haud scio.' '*E* in *ken*, vel *a* in *Cane* *i* præpositus diphthongum *priori* [æi] subtiliorem constituit; ut *praise* laus: in paucis scribimus *ei* vel *ey* finalem; ut *height* altitudo; *weight* pondus, & *convey* deporto, aliaque quæ supra sub *e* ostendimus; quibus exceptis cætera scribuntur cum *ai* vel *ay* ut *hainous* detestabilis, plerunque autem in colloquio familiari, negligenter loquentes pronunciant *ai* prout *a* simplicem in *Cane*.'

The statement that *ai* is monophthongic when uttered gently, dissyllabic when uttered more strongly, seems to point to the existence of stress-doublets. There may have been a weak (ðee) corresponding to a strong (ðeei) or (ðei).

851. In thMn *ei* and *ai* both settled down to (*ee*), which was perhaps narrowed to (*ee*) at the end of the period.

852. We may sum up by saying that *ai* probably passed through (æi), (*ei*) into (*ee*), being in its third stage levelled under *ei*. *ei* must have had its first element open—(*ei*)—or else it would have been smoothed into (*ee*), not (*ee*).

oi

853. The E. *oi*, *oy* is transcribed *oe* in HVg in *asael*, and *oy* in Sb in *tsioynt* = *joint*. In Welsh *oi* = ʃi, *oe* = ʃr. Smith is

doubtful whether it should not be written *ui*, and Gill hesitates between (oi) and (ui)—where the doubling, as in (ei, aai), perhaps only indicates length of the glide—as in (boil, buuil). This change of (oi) into (ui) seems to show that the first element of the former was close ɨ rather than ʏ.

854. Wallis, in the next century, says:

‘In *oi* . . . vel *oy* . . . præponitur aliquando *ö* apertum (ut in Anglorum *böy* puer, *töys* nugæ . . .), aliquando *o* obscurum, (ut in Anglorum *böil* coqueo, *töil* labor, *öil* oleum . . .), quanquam non negem etiam horum nonnulla à quibusdam per *o* apertum pronunciari.’

Here we see the older (oi) retained, while the (u) of (ui) undergoes its regular change into (v). The resulting (vi) was then levelled under (ei), so that *boil* and *bile*, *toil* and *tile* etc were confounded, the *oi* being retained in writing. In the latter half of the 18th cent. the spelling caused a reaction against the pronunciations (bail, pöizən) etc, which now survive only as vulgarisms, and the *oi* was restored. The analogy of the vb *boil* led also to the change of the sbst (bail) = OE *bȳle* into (boil), this being the only E. word of direct Gmc origin which has (oi).

au

855. The E. *au* is transcribed *aw* in HVg, as in *grawnt*, *ffawl* ‘fall’ = Td’s *faull* (784), and in Sb, as in *waw* = *wawe* ‘wave,’ *wawl* ‘wall.’ Welsh *aw* is ʔa. Sb says:

‘*w* English & *w* Welsh do not differ in sound, as *WAVE*, *waw* unda, Also *w* is mute at the end of words in English, as in the following *AWE* pronounced thus *a* terror.’ He also says that ‘sometimes *a* has the sound of the diphthong *aw* especially when it precedes *l* or *ll*, as may be more clearly seen in these words *BALDE*, *bawld* calvus, *BALL*, *bawl* pila, *WALL*, *wawl* murus.’

The pronunciation (aa) = *awe* is parallel to Sb’s *bo* = *bow* (883), the dropping of the (u) being due to the length of the preceding vowel. Sm, however, gives this word as (au). Sb himself in another place writes *wyth aw*, in which *aw* seems to be a phonetic representation of *awe*. Hart identifies E. *au*

with the Gm *au*. Bll, too, has diphthongic (*au*), against his smoothed *ai* (848).

856. Gill, on the other hand, who repudiates Hart's (*ee*) = *ai*, himself makes *au* a monophthong in most cases; he says:

'A, est tenuis, aut lata; tenuis, aut brevis est, vt in (taloou) TALLOWE sebum; aut deducta, ut in (aal) TALE fabula aut computus: lata, vt in *tâl* TALLE procerus. Hunc sonum Germani exprimunt per *aa*. vt in *maal* conuiuium, *haar* coma: nos vnico caractere, circumflexo *â*, contenti erimus.'

'A præponitur *e*, ut in *aerj* AERIE aereus. o nunquam; sæpius *i*, et *u*, vt, in *aïd* auxilium; *bait* esca; *laun* sindonis species; & a *pauu* pignus: vbi aduerte *au* nihil differre ab *â*. Eodem enim sono proferimus a *bâl*, BALL pila; et *tu bâl*, BAULE, vociferari: at ubi verè diphthongus est, *a*, deducitur in *â*, vt *âu* AWE imperium; *âuger* terebra.'

Here *au* is described as having the broad sound of Gm *ɶ*, pointing probably to *ɶ*. It is possible that Gill's *âu* in *awe*, *auger* really means (*aa*u) rather than (*œ*u); for if he had written *aa*u, it would have suggested an approximation to (*æ*æu).

857. Wallis says:

'*Au* vel *aw*, rectè pronunciatum, sonum exhiberet compositum ex Anglorum *â* brevi et *w*, [*æ*u]. Sed a plerisque nunc dierum effertur simpliciter ut Germanorum *â* pingue [*œ*]; sono nempe literæ *â* dilatato, et sono litteræ *w* prorsus suppresso. Eodem nempe sono efferunt *âll* omnes, *awl* subula; *câll* voco, *caul*, *carol*, omentum, vel etiam tiara muliebris.'

858. Cooper says:

'A in *can*, *cast*, cum *u* coalescens . . . nunquam occurrit in nostrâ linguâ. *Lance* hasta, *lancet* scalprum chirurgicum, à lanceola; *lanch* navem solvere à G. *lancer*, Jaculari, *Ganch* in sudes acutas præcipitem dare, *hant* à G. *hanter* frequento; *hanch* à G. *hanche* femur; *Gant*, macer quasi *want* ab A.S. *wana* carens, *gantlet* chirotheca ferrea, *landress* à lavando, nullo modo scribi debent cum *u*; contrà enim suadent sonus et derivatio; falsò itaque seribuntur *launce* &c. Quædam vocabula à latinis præcipue derivata scribimus per *au* pronunciamus prout *au* vel *a* [*œ*] *audacious* audax; *maunder*

murmurare; à G. *maudire* maledicere *O* in *loss*, *lost* conjunctus cum *u* semper scribimus per *au*, ut *audible* audibilis, *audience* audientia; *audit-or-y* auditorium, *augment* augeo, *augury* augurium, *august* augustus, *auricular* auricularis, *austerity* austeritas, *authentick* authenticus, *authority* autoritas, *cautious* cautus, *fraudent* dolosus, *laudable* laudabilis, *laurel* laurus, *plausible* plausibilis, *negligenter loquentes* pronunciant prout *a*; in cæteris vocibus *au* & *aw* semper prout *a* pronunciamus.'

Cp's occasional (ou) reminds us of Gill's (oo), both being probably the intermediate stage between (au) and (oo). W.'s (æu) seems to be a purely theoretical pronunciation.

859. In thMn the monophthong became universal. The sound is now narrow—*ɹ̥*—the earlier sound being probably *ɹ̥*. Before *lt* it is now shortened to *ɹ̥*, as in *salt*, *malt* = fMn (*sault*, *mault*).

860. In some combinations *au* dropt its *u*, and was treated like *a*, as in (*laaf*, *laaftər*) = *laugh(ter)* through sMn (*læf*, *lææf*). So also where *l* is dropt after parasite *u* in (*haaf*, *haav*) = *half*, *halve* through (*hæf*) etc. In (*aamz*, *aansər*) = *alms*, *answer*, fMn (*aulmz*, *aunser*)—which owe their *au* to the analogy of the Anglo-French *au* = Fr *a* before nasals in *aunt*, *daunt* etc—*au* seems to have passed straight into (aa) after the older *aa* had become (ææ). (*aant*) = *ant* 'formica' also points to a fMn (*aunt*) formed on the analogy of the foreign *aunt* 'amita.'

ēu, ēū

861. In MnE orthography ME *ēu* is always written *ew*, as in *hew* vb, *few*, *lew*d. So also in *strew* = OE *stregwian*, which probably had *ēu* in ME. ME *ēu* (*īu*) is also written *ew* in some words, such as *new*, *knew*, *steward*, but in others it is written *u*, *ue*, as in *hne* sb, *true*, *truth*, *tuesday*. In fMn, *u(e)* = the close ME *ēu* is often written in words which now have only *ew*, thus Td has *slue*, *drue* = *slew*, *drew*. Conversely, Pg writes *trewe* = *true*. This confusion between close *ew* and *u* is the result of the lME change of final Fr *u* *f* into *ēu* (691), the confusion between the traditional spelling *vertu(e)* and the phonetic *vertew* leading to a similar fluctuation between *trewe* and *true*, the latter prevailing. The distinction between

close and open *ew* is further shown in Td's constant spelling *fewwe*=*few* (ME *fēwe*), which, at the same time, shows that the first element of the open *ew*—and therefore probably of the close *ew* as well—was long.

862. In HVg and Sb close *ew* is transcribed *uw*. Thus HVg has *truwth*, *Dsiuws* 'Jews', where the *s* is only inflectional,=ME *Jewes*, *Jues* (OFr *Juis*). Sb has *truw*, *vertuw*. They also transcribe *u* in words of French origin with *uw*, not only finally but also before a cons. Thus HVg has *uic* vb, *ffruwt*, Sb has *duwk* 'duke', *tresuwr* 'treasure.' It is evident that the ME diphthonging of final *ū* had now been extended to every *ū*. Welsh *uw* is *İ*, and its use in these transcriptions must be taken as proof of a diphthongal pronunciation in the E. words cited above. If such a word as *duke* had preserved its *f* as a monophthong, HVg and Sb would have written it simply **duk*, parallel to *busi* (809); and there can be no doubt of the diphthongal character of the final *ue* in *true* etc, for it was already ME. It would be possible to explain *uw* as an attempt to indicate a sound between *I* and *ī*, which *f* might be regarded as, but this is against the general principles of the Welsh transcriptions, which simply identify each E. sound with the nearest Welsh one. The *u* in this *uw* cannot well represent any other sound than *f* in E.: we must, therefore, assume that in fMn ME *ēu* and *ū* were diphthonged into *f̄*. The most probable explanation is that *ēu* became (iiu) by the regular change of *ē* into (ii), and that the (ii) was rounded by the following *u*, the resulting (yyu) or (yu) afterwards supplanting the non-final as well as the final *ū*.

863. Unfortunately neither HVg nor Sb give a single example of open *ew*. We must, therefore, turn to Palsgrave. He says:

'*Ev* in the frenche tong hath two dyuerse soundynges, for sometyme they sound hym lyke as we do in our tonge, in these wordes a dewe, a shrewe, a fewe, and somtyme like as we do in these wordes, *trewe*, *glewe*, *rewe*, a *meuwe*. The soundyng of *ev*, whiche is most general in the frenche tong, is suche as I haue shewed by example in these wordes, a dewe, a shrewe, a fewe, that is to saye, lyke as the Italians

sound *ev*, or they with *vs*, that pronounce the latine tonge aryght, as *evréux, ireux, liev, diev*.'

'*U*, in the frenche tong, wheresoeuer he is a vowel by hymselfe, shall be sownded like as we sownde *ew* in these wordes in our tong, *rewe* an herbe, a *mew* for a hauke, a *clew* of threde, and such lyke restyng upon the pronounsyng of hym: as for these wordes *plus, nul, fus, usér, humble, uertú*, they sound *plevus, nevul, fevus, evuser, hevumbe, uertevu*, and so in all other wordes, where *v* is a vowel by hymselfe alone; so that in the soundyng of this vowel, they differe both from the Latin tong and from *vs*.'

We are here told that the open *ew* in *dew, shrew, few* = OE *dēaw, scrēawa, fēawe*, ME *dēw* etc was pronounced as the Italian (eu), while the close *ew* in *true* etc has the Fr sound *ft*. The first statement supplements Sb in the manner we would expect, the second differs from him in making long *u* a monophthongic *ft*.

864. The other fMn authorities distinctly analyse open *ew* into (e)+(u). Smith identifies it with the Greek diphthong *eu*, giving as examples: (feu) 'pauci,' (deu) 'ros,' (meu) 'vox catorum,' (jeu) 'monstrare,' (streu) 'spargere.' Again: 'ην sonamus apertius, vt illud Gallicum *beau*, quod multi Angli *beu*: sonum etiam felium quidam *mew*, alii *meau*, quasi *μῆν, μῆν* exprimunt.' Bll writes *heu* = 'hew' with a comma under the *u* to indicate that it has the sound (u). Gill lengthens the first element: '*E. sæpius præcedit u, vt, in (eeu) EAWE ovicula, (feeu) FEWE pauci, (seeuer) SEWER dapifer.*'

865. These same authorities agree in considering close *ew* and long *u* to be a simple *ft*. Cheke says:

'Cum duke tute lute rebuke *δνκ τυκ λυτ ρεβνκ* dicimus, Græcum *v* sonaremus,' of which he says 'simplex est, nihil admixtum, nihil adjunctum habet.'

Smith says:

'*Y* vel *v* Græcum aut Gallicum, quod per se apud nos taxum arborem significat, *taxus v*.' The following are his examples: '(snyy) ningebat, (slyy) occidit, (tryy) verum, (tyyn) tonus, (kyy) q. litera, (ryy) ruta, (myy) cavea in qua tenentur accipitres, (nyy) novum; (tyyli) valetudinarius, (dyyk) dux, (myyl) mula, (flyyt) tibia

Germanorum, (dyy) debitum, (lyyt) testudo, (bryy) ceruisiam facere, (myylet) mulus, (blyy) cæruleum, (akkyyz) accusare.'

'Quod genus pronunciationis nos à Gallis accepisse arguit, quòd rarius quidem nos Angli in pronuntiando hac utimur litera. Scoti autem qui Gallica lingua suam veterem quasi obliterarant, et qui trans Trentam fluvium habitant, vicinioreque sunt Scotis, frequentissimè, adeo vt quod nos per V Romanum sonamus (u), illi libenter proferunt per v Græcum aut Gallicum (yy); nam et hic sonus tam Gallis est peculiaris, ut omnia fere Romane scripta per u et v proferunt, vt pro Dominus (Dominyys) et Iesvs (Jesyys), intantum vt quæ brevia sint natura, vt illud macrum v exprimant melius, sua pronunciatione longa faciant. Hunc sonum Anglosaxones, de quibus postea mentionem faciemus, per ý exprimebant, ut verus Anglosaxonice *трѣ*. Angli (huur) meretrix, (kuuk) coquus, (guud) bonum, (bluud) sanguis, (huud) cucullus, (fluud) fluvius, (buuk) liber, (tuuk) cepit; Scoti (hyyr, kyyk, gyyd, blyyd, hyyd, flyyd, byyk, tyyk).' And again, 'O rotundo ore et robustiùs quam priores effertur, u angustiore, cætera similis *тѣ о*. Sed v compressis propemodum labris, multò exilius tenuiusque resonat quàm o aut u (boot) scapha, (buut) ocrea, (byyt) Scoticâ pronunciatione, ocrea.'

The Scotch u is now *f*, but it may have been closer in Smith's time. Note that Sm. gives (yy) as the pronounciation of *yew*, where we should expect (*jyy*).

866. Hart calls u long a diphthong, and writes it *iu*, but he calls Fr u, with which he identifies his E. *iu*, a diphthong also, and it is clear from his description that in his *iu* the front and lip action was simultaneous, giving *f*, so that with him 'diphthong' means simply 'compound':

'Now to come to the u. I sayde the French, Spanish, & Brutes [Welsh], I maye adde the Scottish, doe abuse it with vs in sounde and for consonant, except the Brutes as is sayd: the French doe neuer sound it right, but vsurpe ou, for it, the Spanyard doth often vse it right as we doe, but often also abuse it with vs; the French and the Scottish in the sounde of a Diphthong: which keeping the vowels in their due sounds, commeth of i & u, (or verie neare it) is made and put together vnder one breath, confounding the soundes of i, & u, togither: which you may perceyue in shaping thereof, if you take away the inner part of the tongue, from the upper teeth or

Gummes, then shall you sound the u right, or in sounding the French and Scottish u, holding still your tongue to the vpper teeth or gums, & opening your lippes somewhat, you shall perceyue the right sounde of i.'

867. Baret says:

'And as for the sound of V vowel¹ whether it be to be sounded more sharply as in spelling *blue* or more grosly like *oo*, as we sound *Booke*, it were long here to discusse. Some therefore think that this sharpe Scottish V is rather a diphthong than a vowell, being compounded of our English *e* and *u*, as indeed we may partly perceyue in pronouncing it, our tongue at the beginning lying flat in our mouth, and at the ende rising up with the lips also therewithall somewhat more drawn together.'

This statement that long *u* begins with a low-mixed vowel—for such would be the result of the tongue lying flat in the mouth—cannot be accepted. The most probable interpretation is that of Mr. Ellis's, viz. that Baret was thinking of the neutral position of the tongue *before* beginning to utter any sound. The whole passage gives the impression that Baret pronounced *f*, but was trying to convince himself on theoretical grounds similar to those of Hart that it was a true diphthong.

868. Blt says that long *u* has a 'sharp' sound, which he identifies with Fr *u*.

869. Erondell (1605) says:

'*v* Is sounded without any help of the tongue but ioyning of the lips as if you would whistle, say *u*, which *u*, maketh a sillable by it selfe, as *vnir*, *vniquement* as if it were written *v-neer*, pronounce then *musique*, *punir*, *subvenir* not after the English pronunciation, not as if it were written *muesique*, *puenir*, *suevenir*, but rather as the *u* in this word, *murtherer*, not making the *u* too long.'

This statement, obscure as it is, seems to agree with Sb's. He finds *f* in E. only as a short vowel, and although his *ue* for the long E. *u* is unintelligible, it certainly points to a diphthongic pronunciation different from (*iu*), which he would have expressed by *ion*, as Holiband does (870), and which therefore may have been (*yu*).

870. Holiband (1609) distinctly describes the (*iu*)-sound:

¹ Printed *consonant*.

'Where you must take paine to pronounce our *v*, otherwise then in English: for we do thinke that when Englishmen do profer, *v*, they say, *you*: and for, *q*, we suppose they say, *kiou*: but we sound, *v*, without any helpe of the tongue, ioyning the lips as if you would whistle; and after the manner that the Scots do sound Gud.'

871. Cotgrave in 1611 says:

'*V* is sounded as if you whistle it out, as in the word *a lute*.'

Gill is not very definite, but he gives no hint of a diphthongal pronunciation of *u* long, calls it *ὑψιλόv*, and his description does not contradict that of the others:

'*V*, est tenuis, aut crassa: tenuis *v*, est in Verbo tu v*z* v*se* utor; crassa brevis est *u*. vt in pronomine us nos; aut longa *ū*: vt in verbo tu ū*z* oose scaturio, aut sensum exeo mori aquæ vi expressæ.'

872. Butler says:

'*I* and *u* short have a manifest difference from the same long; as in *ride rid*, *rude rud*, *dine din*, *dune dun*, *tine tin*, *tune tun*; for as *i* short hath the sound of *ee* short; so has *u* short the sound of *oo* short. . . . *E* and *i* short with *w* have the very sound of *u* long: as in *hiw*, *kneew*, *true* appeareth. But because *u* is the more simple and ready way; and therefore is this sound rather to be expressed by it. . . . But why are some of these written with the diphthong *ew*? whose sound is manifestly different, as in *dew*, *ewe*, *few*, *hew*, *chew*, *rew*, *sew*, *strew*, *shew*, *shrew*, *pewter*.'

This statement is so ambiguous that we cannot tell whether he means that *u* long was pronounced (iu) or that *iw*, *ew* were pronounced (yy). As we shall see, the (iu)-sound was fully developed in the next period. All we gather with certainty from this statement is that open *ew* in *dew* etc was distinct from close *ew* and long *u*.

873. In sMn we still find Wallis insisting on the (yy) sound:

'Ibidem etiam,' that is, *in labiis*, 'sed Minori adhuc apertura,' than (uu), 'formatur *ū* exile; Anglis simul et Gallis notissimum. Hoc sono Angli suum *u* longum ubique proferunt (nonnunquam etiam *eu* et *ew* quæ tamen rectius pronunciantur retento etiam sono *e* masculi: Ut *muse*, *musa*, *tune*, modulatio, *lute*, barbitum; *dure*, *duro*; *mute*, mutus; *new*, novus; *brew*, misceo (cerevisiam coquo); *knew*, novi; *view*, aspicio; *lieu*, vice, etc. Hunc sonum extranei fere assequuntur,

si diphthongum *iu* conentur pronunciare ; nempe ꝛ exile litteræ *u* vel *w* præponentes, (ut in Hispanorum *ciudad* civitas,) non tamen idem est omninò sonus, quamvis ad illum proximè accedat ; est enim *iu* sonus compositus, at Anglorum et Gallorum *û* sonus simplex. Cambro-Britanni hunc fere sonum utcumque per *iw*, *yw*, *uw* describunt, ut in *lliw* color ; *llyw* gubernaculum navis ; *Duw* Deus, aliisque innumeris.'

'*U* longum effertur ut Gallorum *û* exile. Ut in *lûte* barbitum, *mûte* mutus, *mûse* musa, *cûre* cura, etc. Sono nempe quasi composito ex ꝛ et *w*.'

Here Wallis, while pointing out the resemblance between Spanish *fi*, Welsh *iw* *fi*, *yw*, *uw* *fi* on the one hand and Fr *fi* on the other, states expressly that Spanish *iu* is a diphthong, Fr (*yy*) a simple sound, and with this latter he identifies the E. *u* long and *eu*, *ew* in some cases (meaning, of course, close *ew*). In contradiction to Sb he allows only resemblance to, not identity with the Welsh *uw*, which he evidently heard as *fi*—its present sound in South Wales.

874. To Wallis's contemporary Wilkins, on the contrary, the Fr *u* is entirely foreign ; he says :

'As for the *u* *Gallicum* or *whistling u*, though it cannot be denied to be a distinct simple vowel ; yet it is of so laborious and difficult pronunciation to all those Nations amongst whom it is not used, (as to the English) especially in the distinction of long and short, and framing of Diphthongs, that though I have enumerated it with the rest, and shall make provision for the expression of it, yet shall I make less use of it, than of the others ; and for that reason, not proceed to any further explication of it.'

Accordingly, he transliterates *communion* by (kommiuunion).

875. Holder describes (*yy*) very accurately (795), and says that it naturally follows (*æ*) and (*e*) in diphthongs Does this mean that he pronounced *eu* (open as well as close?) and *u* long as (*iy*)? The example he gives is the Lt *euge*.

876. Cooper says :

'*E* in *will*, *weal* cum *u* coalescens nobis familiarissimus est, quem vocamus *u* longum ; ut *funeral* funus, *huge* inus [sic] ; *juice* succus, scribimus per *ew* ; ut *chew* mastico, *knew* cognovi ; aliisque temporibus verborum præteritis ; quando syllabam finalem claudit,

additur *e*, *true* verus; raro per *eu*, *rheum* rheuma; sic semper pronunciamus *eu* latinum, & *eu* Græcum: et Galli plerumque illorum *u*, quandoque autem subtilius quasi sonus esset simplex, sed hæc difficilis & *Gallis* propria.'

Cp here compares and distinguishes (iu) and (yy) very much as W. does, but only admits the diphthong in E., agreeing with Wilkins in finding (yy) a difficult sound.

877. Miede hears the E. *u* long as the Fr *u*, which is probably an inaccuracy of ear or description.

878. We must now return to the open *ew*. Wallis says:

'*Eu*, *ew*, *eau* sonantur per è clarum et *u*. Ut in *neuter* neutralis, *few* pauci, *beauty* pulchritudo. Quidam tamen paulo acutius efferunt acsi scriberenter, *niewter*, *fiew*, *biewty*, vel *nuxter*, *fiw*, *biwty*; præsertim in vocibus *new* novus, *knew* sciebam, *snew* ningeat. At prior pronunciatio rector est.'

We learn from this passage that the old (eu)=ME *ēu* was beginning to die out, *few* being generally pronounced with the first element 'sharper' than (e), which W. expresses by writing *fiew*, meaning, if not (fiu), at any rate something practically identical with it. But he gives as an alternative notation *fiw*, adding that this *iw*-pronunciation is especially frequent in *new* and some other (probably all) words with *ew*=ME *ēw*. Now under *u* (873) he includes *new* in a list of words pronounced with (yy). Does this imply that *few* also had the (yy) sound when not pronounced (feu), or does it mean that *few* had the (iu)-sound, *new* and the other close *ew*-words the (yy)-sound? Why then does he not expressly tell us that *new* was pronounced with 'ú exile'? Were it not that W. has distinguished (iu) from (yy) with such clearness and accuracy in treating of *u* long, we should be obliged to assume that, after all, he was incapable of realising the distinction in practice, and that he really pronounced (iu) not only in *new*, but also in *muse* etc. But when a competent phonetician like W. says plainly that his *u* long is a monophthong identical with Fr *u*, we are bound to believe him, as long as we base our conclusions generally on the statements of contemporary phonetic authorities. The most probable solution of the dilemma seems to be this. W. himself pronounced (myyz, nyy), but was

familiar with the diphthongic (miuz, niu) which he could have heard from his contemporary Wilkins, if from no one else. This latter pronunciation he has intentionally ignored, while unconsciously admitting its existence by identifying the vowel of *new* with the diphthongic (eu) in the modified form of (iu).

879. Wilkins has (eu) in *hew*. Price says that *ew* keeps its sound in *few* and *lewd* and some others (most open *ew* words), but has the sound of *iw* in *blew*, *chew* and a number of other close *ew* words. Cp has only (iu), and this pronunciation became general in the next cent., so that ME *ēu*, *ēu*, *ū* were all represented by (iu).

880. In attempting to sum up the results of the preceding investigation, the main question that forces itself on us is, was the eMn *u* long (and close *eu*) a monophthong or a diphthong? We have conclusive evidence of the (iu)-sound in sMn as well as late fMn, and strong evidence of the (yu)-sound in the fMn period. But there does not seem to be any direct connection between these two pronunciations, which are separated by a number of authorities who insist on the (yy)-sound with such unanimity, and, in several cases, with such clearness of description and accuracy of comparison with the known sounds of other languages, that we cannot but accept their statement. It seems simplest, therefore, to accept these facts, which point to the following conclusions. ME (eeu) became first (iiu), and then by convergence (yyu), which, by analogy, supplanted non-final ME (yy). The (u) of (yyu) was then absorbed, (yy) being the result, which in sMn was diphthonged into (iu). Another hypothesis is, that (yyu) was the only sound in fMn, which, differing so slightly from (yy), was generally identified with it, the first element being afterwards unrounded, giving (iiu, iu). The last hypothesis is, that the normal fMn pronunciation was (iu), of which Sb's *uw* is a dialectal variation. If we interpret our authorities as literally as we can, the first hypothesis is the most probable; but if we attempt to harmonise their contradictory statements, the second hypothesis gives a satisfactory explanation of their occasional identification of their (yu) with Fr (yy), for even a

trained phonetician might have some difficulty in distinguishing these sounds.

881. In thMn (iu) shifted the stress on to the second element, giving (juu). Lediard expresses the sound of initial *u* in German letters by *juh* in *juhniou*, generally writing *inh* non-initially. He gives the rule that *u* is a long Gm *u* or *uh* after the forward conss. *d, l, n, r, t*, thus carrying the dropping of the (j) further than in the present E. He then makes a remark which is thus abbreviated by Mr. Ellis:

‘According to Mr. Brightland and others, the English express the sound of French *u* by their long *u*, and sometimes by *eu* and *ew*. I cannot agree with this opinion, for although the English perhaps do not give the full sound of German *u* to their long *u* after *d, l, n, r, t*, yet their sound certainly approaches to this more closely than to the French *u*, which has induced me to give the German *u* as its sound, contrary to the opinion of some writers. After other consonants English long *u* is *iu*, and has nothing in common with French *u*.’

We are here told that the (j)-curtailed *u* in *rude* etc, though nearer *ɪ* than *f*, is not identical with the former. This remark points to the mixed *ɪ*, due probably to the influence of the lost (j).

ou

882. In MnE, as in lME, *ou, ow* is written for the ME diphthongs *ōu, ōu* and *ou*—which latter was probably levelled under *ōu* in lME—as in *grow, know, bow* sb = ME *grōwen, knōwen, bowe*, OE *grōwan, cnāwan, boga*.

The fMn parasite diphthong in *old* (842) was not generally expressed in writing. The old-diphthongic *ou* was sharply distinguished from the new-diphthongic *ou* = ME (uu), as in *bow* vb, *bough* = lME *bowen, bough* (721) = OE *būgan, bōg*. The two *ous* are separated in LE also, the old-diphthongic and parasite *ou* being represented by (ou), as in (*grou, nou, bou, ould*), the new-diphthongic *ou* by *au*, as in (*bau*). There must, however, have been a time when the two *ous* were very close in sound, for ME (uu) passed through the (ou)-stage in fMn (826).

883. HVg and Sb transcribe old-diphthongic and parasite

ou sometimes with *ow*, sometimes with *o*, especially when final. The following are the chief examples:

ōu. low 'mugire' *S*.

ōu, *ou*. sowl, sol, owld, howld, sowld, wowld 'would'; slo, kno, bo 'arcus' *H*. kro 'cornix,' tro 'opinor,' bo 'arcus' *S*.

The dropping of the *w* in these words, contrasted with its invariable retention in *ow*=ME *ū*, points to an indistinctness of the second element, due to the length of the first.

884. Smith says:

'*oy* diphthongus Græca, (ou) et *ov* (oou). Ex (o) breui & (u), diphthongum habebant Latini, quæ si non eadem, vicinissima certè est *ov* Græcæ diphthongo, & proximè accedit ad sonum *u* Latinæ. Ita quæ Latinè per *u* longum scribebant, Græci exprimebant per *ov*. quæ per *u* breuem, per *v*, quasi sonos vicinissimos. At ex (oo) longa & (u) diphthongus apud nos frequens est, apud Græcos rara, nisi apud Ionas: apud Latinos haud scio an fuit vnquam in vsu.

(ou), (bou) flectere, (boul) sphæra, (kould) poteram, (mou) meta fœni, (sou) sus fœmina.

ov. (boou) arcus, (booul) sinum aut scaphium, (koould) frigidus, (moou) metere, aut irridere os distortuendo, (soou) seminare, aut suere.'

And again in his Greek pronunciation he adds:

'*ov* ab omnibus rectè sonatur, & *u* facit Latinum quando producit, vt aduertit Terentianus: differt *ov* granditate vocis, vt etiam *ηv* ab *ευ* distinguimus.

ov. *bow*, βῶν, flectere. *a hay mow*, μῶν, fœni congeries, *a gowne*, γῶν, toga.

ov. *a bow*, βῶν, arcus. *to mow*, μῶν, metere, vel os torquere. *gow*, γῶν, abeamus.

v. *v* breue Latinum. *a bull* taurus. *u* longum vel *ov*, *a bowl*, βῶλ, globus. *ov*, *a bowle* βῶλ, Sinum ligneum, vas in quo lac seruatur, vel vnde ruri bibitur.'

Here Sm assigns the pronunciation (ou) to Latin *ū* as well as to Gk *ou*. In E. he distinguishes old- from new-diphthongic *ou* solely by the quantity of the first element, which he makes short in the latter, long in the former. Observe the distinction between (boul) 'ball' from Fr *boule*, and (booul) 'bowl' from OE *bolla*, a confusion between which led to the

occasional thMn pronunciation of *bowl* as (beul). Bll and Gill make the same distinctions as Sm.

885. In sMn Wallis says:

'*Ou* et *ow* duplicem sonum obtinent; alterum clariorem, alterum obscuriorem. In quibusdam vocabulis effertur sono clariori per *o* apertum, et *w*. Ut in *sul* anima, *suld* vendebam, venditum, *snōw* nix, *knōw* scio, *sōw* sero, suo, *ōwe* debeo, *bōwl* poculum, etc., quo etiam sono et *ō* simplex nonnunquam effertur nempe ante *ld* ut in *gōld* aurum, *scōld* rixor, *hōld* teneo, *cōld* frigidus, *ōld* senex, antiquus, etc., et ante *ll* in *pōll* caput, *rōll* volvo, *tōll* vectigal, etc. Sed et hæc omnia ab aliis efferuntur simpliciter per *ō* rotundum acsi scripta essent *ōle*, *ōld*, *snō*, etc. In aliis vocabulis obscuriori sono efferuntur; sono nempe composito ex *ō* vel *u* obscuria, et *w*. Ut in *hōuse* domus, *mōuse* mus, *wōwe* pediculus, *bōwl* globulus, *ōur* noster, *ōut* ex, *ōwl* bubo, *wōwn* oppidum, *fōwl* immundus, *fōwl* volucris, *bōwo* flecto, *bōugh* ramus, *sōw* sus, etc. At *would* vellem, *should* deberem, *could* possem, *course* cursus, *court* aula, curia, et pauca forsitan alia, quamvis (ut proximè præcedentia) per *ōu* pronunciari debeant, vulgo tamen negligentius efferri solent per *oo* [uu].'

886. Cooper says:

'*O* in *full*, *fole* cum *u* conjunctus constituit diphthongum in *coulter* vomis, *four* quatuor, *mould* panifico, mucresco, typus in quo res formatur; *moulter* plumas exuere, *poulterer* avicularius, *poultry* alites villatici, *shoulder* humerus, *soul* anima; in cæteris hunc sonum scribimus per *o* ante *ll* finalem, vel *l*, quando præcedit aliam consonantem; ut *bold* audax; quidam hoc modo pronunciant *ow*.'

'*U* gutturalis [v], ante *u* Germanicum *oo* anglicè exprimentem semper scribimus per *ou*; ut *out* ex; *about* circa; *ou* tamen aliquando, præter sonum priorem, sonatur ut *oo*; ut *I could* possem; ut *u* gutturalis, *couple* copulo; ut *a* [ɔ] *bought* emptus.'

As fMn (*oo*) became (*oo*) in sMn, we should expect Smith's (*boou*) etc to narrow their first element in sMn. Cp expressly states that the first element of E. *ou* was (*oo*) or its short, which he identifies with (*u*), by which he probably means that it was narrow (*o*)—j. W.'s '*o* apertum' would literally mean (*o*), but if so, it would be difficult to understand how the dropping (or absorption) of the *w* could change (*snou*) into (*snoo*) with j. It is therefore probable that by open *o*

W. meant short ʃ, which he hardly recognizes as a distinct sound. The epithet 'open' seems to be meant merely to exclude 'obscure o'=1.

887. Price and Mieg identify E. *ou* with long *o*, meaning (oo), which became fixed in thMn, so that *no* and *know* were levelled under (noo), to be diphthonged into (ou) in LE.

CONSONANTS.

h

888. Initial *h*, which was preserved throughout fMn and sMn, began to be dropt everywhere in colloquial speech towards the end of thMn, but has now been restored in refined speech by the influence of the spelling, which has introduced it into many Fr words where it was originally silent, as in *humble*.

889. Already in ME the alternation of such forms as *hih* pl *hie* led to the irregular dropping of the *h* in the uninflected *hi*. That these curtailed forms were preserved in eMn is shown by such spellings as *hye*=*high* in Td and the phonetic transcription *nei*=*nigh* in HVg, *enough* pl *enow* being, on the other hand, an example of the faithful retention of the phonetically divergent forms. The retention of the silent *gh* in such words as *high*, *neigh* was no doubt partly due to the striving after graphical distinctiveness, the spelling *hye*, *hie* being reserved for the verb to *hie*= 'hasten.'

890. Sb says of the E. *gh*:

'*Gh* has the same sound as our [Welsh] *ch*, except that they sound *gh* softly, not in the neck, and we sound *ch* from the depth of our throats and more harshly, and it is disagreeable to the English to hear the grating sound of this letter, so Welshmen in the South of Wales avoid it as much as possible.'

The North Welsh *ch* is *cʰ*, the South Welsh sound being *c* without any trill. This 'harsh,' 'grating' trill was absent from the E. *gh*, according to Sb, who also tells us that the E. sound was not formed 'in the depth of the throat,' which is evidently meant to apply to the front *o* in *night* etc. Whether

the statement is to be applied literally to the *gh* in *laugh* = ME *ȝ*, is uncertain. If so, it would imply that this latter sound had been weakened to the *ɔ* in *what*, which is by no means improbable. Sb and the HVg transcribe *gh* by *ch*, never omitting it except where it was already liable to be dropped in ME.

891. The other fMn authorities indicate a very weak sound of *gh*. Smith denotes it by *h*, saying:

'Scio *tauht*, *niht*, *fiht* & cætera ejusmodi scribi etiam *g* adjuncta, vt *taught*, *night*, *fight*, sed sonum illius *g* quærant, quibus ita libet scribere, aures profecto meæ nunquam in illis vocibus sonitum *rov g* poterant haurire.'

Hart agrees, writing *lauht*, *oht* = *laught*, *ought*. So also Bll has *liht*, *bowht* = *light*, *bought*. Gill uses a stem-crossed *h* to denote the sound, and says:

'X. ch. Græcorum in initio nunquam vsurpamus, in medio, et fine sæpe; et per *gh*, male exprimimus: posthac sic [crossed *h*] scribemus: vt in (waixt enux) WEIGHT ENOUGH satis ponderis.'

892. It seems clear, then, that the regular fMn pronunciation of *gh* reduced it to a mere breath—probably a breath-glide modified by the preceding vowel—*ɥʰɔ* (= *ɥʰɛɔ*), *ʝɔ*, weakenings of earlier *ɥʰɔɔ*, *ʝɔɔ*, *ʝɛɔ*. But even in this period the front *gh* must have been silent in the pronunciation of the majority. Sm gives both (*liht*) and (*leit*) = *light*, and (*feit*) = *fight*. Such forms as (*leit*) can only be explained as diphthongings of an earlier (*liit*), itself derived from (*liht*) by absorption of the *h*. If (*liht*) had really been generally preserved in the beginning of the 17th cent., it could only have been contracted into (*liit*), which would have been preserved unchanged in LE, for the earlier (*ii*) had already become (*ai*). We see, therefore, that the forms (*leixt*) etc of Gill are really half-artificial blendings of the older (*liht*) and younger (*leit*). There was no doubt a strong—though, of course, hopeless—reaction against the dropping of *gh*, which was natural at a period when all the other cons. which are now silent, such as the *k* and *w* in *know* and *write*, were still sounded. The first admission of the dropping of *gh* is made by Gill's contemporary

Butler, who uses a crossed *g* to denote it, saying 'the Northern dialect doth yet rightly sound' it, implying that it was lost in the South. The lip *gh* must, however, have been preserved longer, for not only does it remain to the present day in such words as *laugh* in the form of (f), but the present (oo) in the contracted forms *sought* etc shows that it must have been preserved here also till after the narrowing of (oo) into (oo)—that is, till sMn—for otherwise the contraction of (soht) into (soot) would have resulted in LE (sout). It must, however, be noted that the form (soot) actually occurs in sMn by the side of (soot), showing that in some pronunciations the *gh* in these words must have been dropped early in fMn.

893. We can now proceed to the sMn authorities. Wallis, after noticing that initial *gh* is simply (g), adds :

'alias vero nunc dierum prorsus omittitur; syllabam tamen producendam innuit. A quibusdam tamen (præsertim Septentrionalibus) per molliorem saltem aspirationem *h* effertur, ut *might* potestas, *light* lux, *night* nox, *right* rectus, *sight* visus, *sigh* singultus, *weigh* pondero, *weight* pondus, *though* quamvis, *thought* cogitatio, *wrought* operatus est, *brought* attulit, *taught* docuit, *sought* quæsivit, *fraught* refertus, *nought* nihil, *naught* malus, &c. In paucis vocabulis effertur plerumque per *ff*; nempe *cough* tussis, *trough* alveolus, *tough* tenax, *rough* asper, *laugh* rideo proferuntur *cōff*, *trōff*, *tuff*, *ruff*, *laff*. *Inough* (singulare) sat multum, sonatur *inuff*; at *inough* (plurale) sat multa, sonatur *enow*.'

894. Here Smith's (riht) etc appears only as a Northern provincialism.

895. Wilkins, after saying that *gh* might have been (ʒ) adds :

'This kind of sound is now by disuse lost among us.'

Price, however, in the same year, says :

'Gh sounds now like *h* in *Almighty*, *although*,' etc.,

adding in the margin :

'But the Ancients did, as the Welch & Scots do still, pronounce *gh* thorow the throat.'

He notes that *gh* sounds as (f) in *cough*, *laughter*, *enough*, *rough*. Cooper says :

'hodiè apud nos desuevit pronunciatio *gh*, retinetur tamen in scripturâ,'

but he makes it (f) in *cough*, *laugh*, *rough*, *tough*, *trough*, and makes Wallis's distinction between *enough* and *enow*. Miede says also that *gh* is generally mute, but is (f) in *laugh*, *draught*, *rough*, *tough*, *enough* (not distinguishing *enow*), but adds:

'*Sigh*, un Soupir, et le Verbe to *Sigh* soupirer, ont un son particulier qui approche fort de celui du *th* en Anglois.'

Jones (1701) extends both the (f) and the (th) list. According to him (f) is heard regularly in *draught*, *draughts*, *laugh*, *cough*, *enough*, *hough*, *rough*, *lough*, *trough*; and he adds:

'Some also sound *daughter*, *bought*, *nought*, *taught*, &c., as with an f, saying *dafter*, *boft*, &c.'

And he states that *gh*, *ght* are *th*

'in *sigh*, sounded *sith*; in *drought*, *height* sounded *drouth*, *heith*,'

but in other parts of his book he also admits the sounds (*sai*, *drœt*, *heet*).

896. It will now be desirable to consider the changes of *gh* in connection with the preceding vowel. The following are the ME combinations with front *gh* and their Mn equivalents:

ī(h): *high* (*hai*), *nigh* (*nai*), *thigh* (*pai*).

iht: *right* (*rait*) etc through (*riit*). *whit* (*whit*) is an anomalous weak form of *wight* (*wait*).

ei(h): *neigh* (*nei*), *neighbour* (*neiber*).

eiht: *eight* (*eit*), *weight* (*weit*). *height* (*hait*) owes its vowel to the infl. of *high*.

897. The combination back vowel + lip-*gh* inserts an *u* before the *gh*, which, however, does not seem necessarily to form a full diphthong with the preceding vowel, being sometimes omitted, as in Td's *doghter* by the side of *doughter*, *wroght*, and *ocht* = *ought* in HVg. Such forms as (*sœt*) *sought*, (*laaf*) *laugh* point to an *u*-less pronunciation in fMn, while such as (*tœt*) *taught* postulate a full diphthong. It will be observed that final lip *gh* is regularly preserved in LE as (f), except in weak words, such as *though*, and, of course, where analogy has been at work, as in *drew*:

uh: *through* (pruu) from *þruh* = OE *þurh* is a weak form. The strong form would be (**pruf*), as in *rough*.

auh: *laugh* (laaf).

auht: *laughter* (laaftər), *draught*, *draft* (draaft). (*n*)*ought* (ɔt, nɔt), *slaughter* (slətər), *taught* (tɔt), *daughter* (dətər).

uht: *doughty* (dauti), *drought* (draut) through (duuti) etc.

ūh = OE *ūh*: *rough* (raf).

ūh = OE *ōh*: *tough* (taf), *enough* (inaf). *slough* (slau), *plough* (plau), *bough* (bau). *slew*, *drew* owe their (uu) = earlier (iu) to the analogy of the old *ew*-preterites *knew*, *crew* etc.

o(u)h: *cough* (kɔf), *trough* (trɔf). *though* (ʃou) is a weak form of the obsolete *vg* (pɔf).

o(u)ht: *ought* (ɔt), *thought* (pɔt) etc.

ō(u)h: *hough* (hok) earlier (hof). (**haf*) would be the regular form (cp *ūh* = OE *ōh* above).

ō(u)h: *dough* (dou).

j

898. There was evidently a dislike to the combination of (j) with its cognate vowel (i), which led to the substitution of *yes*, *yet* for *yis*, *yit*, which seem originally to have been the more usual fMn forms. Whether Hart's (iild) really means that he dropt (j) before (ii) is doubtful, as it may be simply a result of his theoretically identifying (j) with (i), as he does. But cp *w* (920).

r

899. Sb says:

'R is of the same nature in the two languages, except that *r* is never doubled or aspirated at the beginning of words as in Greek and Welsh.'

This identifies E. *r* with the Welsh *r* ɔr, and excludes the aspirate, now written *rh* ɔr.

900. Ben Jonson says:

'R is the *Dogs* letter, and hurreth in the sound; the tongue striking the inner palate, with a trembling about the teeth. It is

sounded firme in the beginning of the words, and more *liquid* in the middle, and ends: as in *rarer. viper.* and so in the Latine.'

If taken literally—and there seems no reason why it should not—this means that *r* was a point trill *ɹ* initially, and was untrilled—= the present *ɹ*—before a vowel.

901. Cooper, however, says that final *r* is trilled:

'Verba Anglicana & latina derivativa quæ in origine scribuntur cum *er* scribimus item *er*, pronunciamus autem *ur* [ʊr], non quia sic proferri debet, sed quia propter literæ *r* vibrationem vix aliter efferrî potest; ut *adder* coluber, *prefer* præfero, *slender* tenuis.' '*r* sonatur post *o* in *apron* gremiale, *citron* citreum, *environ* circundo, *gridiron* craticula, *iron* ferrum, *saffron* crocus; quasi scriberentur *apurn*, &c.'

But here the mention of the vibration seems to be nothing but a part of the traditional definition of *r*. It is remarkable how people cling even now to the idea that the E. *r* is trilled, probably confounding trilling with the voice-vibration in the glottis. Walker even imagines a trill of the root of the tongue in one of his pronunciations of *r*. Lediard (1725) says of E. *r* that it agrees entirely with the Gm *r*, which at that time was no doubt *ɹ* all over North Germany, as it still is in the remoter districts, having been supplanted by the back *ɛ* in the towns.

902. In LE *r* is *ɹ* before a vowel, being always dropt before a pause or another cons., leaving only an (ə)-glide behind it, which is absorbed by a preceding obscure vowel. We have now to trace the development of this voice-glide.

903. Sb transcribes E. weak *er* by *er*, *yr*, *ir*, *r*, as in *kwarter*, *papyr*, *tsintsir* 'gynger,' *thwendr*, *wendr* 'wondre,' which points to an indistinct (ər). Bll has special signs for syllabic *l*, *m*, *n* in *fable* etc, but none for syllabic *r*, which shows that Sb's *thwendr* really means (pʊndər).

904. We have now to consider the influence of *r* on preceding vowels, which has played so important a part in the development of the LE vowel-system. The change of *e* into *a* before *r*, as in *far*, reaches back, as we have seen (789), into the ME period. The first traces of the specifically Mn changes are found in sMn. Wallis tells us (793) that *e* before *r*, as in *vertue*, had the sound of Fr '*e* feminine,' which we

have identified as ɹ or ɹ̥ . He expressly distinguishes *er* from *ur* in *turn*, where the *u* kept its regular sMn sound, but still, *her*, *turn* $\text{ɛ}^{\text{h}}\omega$, $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}\omega$ had now approximated their vowels considerably, and the beginning was made of that levelling of vowels which has now been carried out in such words as *her*, *fur*, *fir* ($\text{h}\text{æ}\text{r}$, $\text{f}\text{æ}\text{r}$, $\text{f}\text{æ}\text{r}$). Cp, in the passage quoted just above (901), seems to identify the sound of *er* completely with that of *ur*. He also gives the same sound to the *ir* in *bird* etc.

905. The following examples will show how the ME vowels have changed before *r* in MnE and LE. Observe that (r) followed by a vowel in the same word has no effect on a preceding short vowel; thus (*nærou*) keeps the regular short (æ) of (*mæn*).

ar: *narrow* (*nærou*). *far*, *hard* (*faar*, *faa*; *haad*). *quarrel* (*kworəl*). *war*, *warm* (*wɔr*, *wɔə*; *wɔm*).

ir: *stirrup* (*stirəp*). *stir*, *first* (*stæər*, *stæə*; *fæəst*).

er: *herring* (*heriŋ*). *her*, *were* ($\text{h}\text{æ}\text{r}$, $\text{h}\text{æ}$; $\text{w}\text{æ}\text{r}$, $\text{w}\text{æ}$), *herd*, *heard*, *learn* ($\text{h}\text{æ}\text{d}$, $\text{l}\text{æ}\text{n}$). As *er* was regularly lengthened to *ēr* in ME in strest syllables, except when followed by certain cons., final *er* could become ($\text{æ}\text{ər}$) only in weak forms such as *her* and *were*, which latter is a shortened ME *wēre*. The ($\text{æ}\text{ə}$) in *heard*, *learn* etc points to eMn (*herd*) etc by the side of (*heerd*). *tarry* (*tæri*). *far*, *dark* (*faar*, *faa*; *daak*.)

ur: *furrow* (*farou*). *spur*, *further*, *worth* ($\text{sp}\text{æ}\text{r}$, $\text{sp}\text{æ}$; $\text{f}\text{æ}\text{ð}\text{ər}$, $\text{w}\text{æ}\text{ð}$). *word* (*wæd*) points to fMn (*wurd*) with shortened (*uu*) = ME ō .

or: *sorrow* (*sorou*). *for*, *north* ($\text{f}\text{ər}$, $\text{f}\text{ə}$; $\text{n}\text{ə}\text{p}$). Final -*or* only in weak syllables (cp *er*).

ār: *care* (*kæər*). Cp *name* (*neim*).

īr: *fire* (*faiər*).

ēr: *deer* (*diər*), *fear* (*fīər*), *here* (*hiər*).

ēr: *ear* (*iər*), *tear* sb (*tiər*), *beard* (*biəd*). *bear* (*bēər*), *tear* (*tēər*) vb.

ūr: *sour* (*sauər*).

ūr: *cure* (*kjuər*). *lure* (*luər*).

ōr: *moor* (*muər*). *floor* (*fłər*).

ōr: *more* (*mər*). *hoarse* (*həs*).

air: *fair* (*fīər*).

eir : *their* (ðeər).

ēir : *stairs* (stæz).

our : *four* (fər). *fourth* (fɔp).

1

906. In eMn *l* must have had the same deep pitch as at present, as shown by its development of a parasite *u* between it and a preceding back vowel (784, 842).

907. (*l*) is regularly dropt between its parasite (*u*) and a following cons. in the fMn combinations *aulf*, *aulv*, *aulm*, *aulk*, *oulk*, as in *half*, *halve*, *calm*; *walk*; *folk* (haaf, haav, kaam; wɔk; fouk). Also in *should*, *would*, *could* (ʃud, wud, kud). This loss of *l* began in fMn. In the last three words (the last of which, = ME *cūpe*, *cūde*, owed its *l* to the analogy of the other two) the *l* seems at first to have been dropped only in the weak forms.

908. Sb notes the provincial dropping of *l* in *bowd*, *bw*, *caw*, as he writes them, = *bold*, *bull*, *call*. There are traces of this in the literary language, for we can only explain Td's curious spelling *rayneboll* = *rainbow* on the supposition that he pronounced *bowl* and *bow* 'arcus' alike as (bou).

p, s, f, f.

909. In some words MnE final (*p*) corresponds anomalously to medial ME *th* = (ð), as in *pith*, *beneath*, *both*, *earth*, *fourth* etc. Final (*z*) = ME (*s*) in *arose*, *chose* is due to the infl. of the inf. *rise*, *chose*. The (*z*) of *wise* adj. must also be due to some analogy—either of the inflected ME *wise* or of *wisdom*.

910. *f* = ME *v* in *belief*, *sherref*, and a few others.

911. The present distinction between initial (*p*) and (ð) is fully confirmed for fMn by HVg, which writes *dde*, *dden*, *ddat*, *ddei* = *the*, *then*, *that*, *they* with the Welsh *dd* = (ð), writing Welsh *th* = (*p*) in other words.

912. In HVg *with* and *of* are written *wyth* and *off* = strong (wɪp, of). Td writes both *of* and *off* for the prp. The other authorities give (*p*) in *with*. Hart, however, has (uið). There

can, of course, be no doubt that (wip, wið, of, ov) existed side by side in fMn as strong and weak forms respectively. (wip) is now almost extinct, and (of) is entirely restricted to its adverbial function.

913. The fMn change of (ð) into (d) takes place mainly after *r*, as in *murder*, *burden*, or before *r*, where *ð* and *d* were confused (931), as in *rudder*, and *l*, as in *swaddle*, *fiddle*.

914. *sh* in fMn does not seem to have differed from the present sound. Sb says:

'*Sh* when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination *ssi*, thus SHAPPE *ssiapp*, SHEPE *ssiip*. *Sh* coming after a vowel is pronounced *iss*, thus ASSHE *aiss*, WASSHE *waiss*. And wherever it is met with, it hisses like a roused serpent, not unlike the Hebrew letter called *schin*. And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish when they begin to boil.'

So also HVg writes *siak*=*shake*, with the variations *syts* 'such,' *aish* 'ask,' *shio* 'shew.'

915. *s* in Welsh is (j) in such words as *ceisio*, where it has developed out of the combination (sj), but this is a very recent development. It is possible, however, that even in Sb's time *s* was palatalized in this combination—*sʷo*. This was probably also the beginning of the LE (j)-sound of *s* in such a word as *nation*, which Gill writes (naasion). In sMn Wallis recognizes (j) in such words, but Wilkins still writes (*resurreksion*)=*resurrection*, and Price (1668) only recognizes 'hard *s*' in *passion*. Cooper (1685) admits *shure*, *shugar*,=*sure*, *sugar* 'facilitatis causâ,' although he stigmatizes the *sh*-pronunciation as barbarous.

916. Miede (1688) writes *chûre*, *pennchoun* in French letters for *sure*, *pension*, states that in the termination *-ision*, *s* sounds as French *g* or *j*, and writes *ûjual*, *traîngient*, *lêjeur*, *ôjer*, *hôjer*, *crôjer* for *usual*, *transient*, *leisure*, *osier*, *hosier*, *crosier*. This passage contains the first notice of the sound (ʒ), which had previously been known only in the combination (dʒ)=*j* and 'soft' *g*. It is not noticed even by Lediard (1725), who seems to pronounce *decision* etc with (j). Sheridan (1780) fully recognizes it.

W

917. Gill distinctly recognizes *wh* as a simple cons.:

'*W*, aspiratum, consona est, quam scribunt per *wh* et tamen aspiratio præcedit. Illæ namque voces quæ per *wh* scribuntur; possunt atque etiam ad exempla maiorum scribi debent per (hw) aut (hu); ita enim, nihil aliud inde colligi queat, quàm quod ex ipso *wh*, intelligimus; vt (wiil) sive (uiil) WEELE nassa, (hwiil) sive (huiil) WHEELLE rota. Tamen quia nostra experientia docet, (w) et (wh) veras esse simplicesque consonas, in quarum elatione (u) suggrunnit tantum, non clara vocalis auditur; ideo illud (w) ante vocales aut diphthongos ius assignatum obtinebit; at (wh) mala tantum consuetudine valebit in (what) quid, (wheðer) uter & similibus.'

918. Towards the close of thMn (wh) began to be levelled under (w), and in the present cent. the change was carried out universally, even among those who still retained (h) as a mark of gentility. But of late years it has begun to be restored in Southern educated speech, partly by the influence of the spelling, partly by that of Scotch and Irish pronunciation, so that in another generation it will probably be completely restored. It is now pronounced in unstressed words, where it was probably weakened into (w) in the period when it was a natural sound.

919. The now silent *w* before *r* is preserved not only in HVg, as in *wricht* 'wright,' but also by all the other fMn authorities. Those of the sMn period drop it. Jones, however, says '*r*- may be *wr*-' Lediard (1725) says that in *wr* the *w* is 'little or scarcely heard, as in *wrack*, *wrench* etc, in which I can only find a soft aspiration before *r*.' The development of (ɔ) in *wrath* and of (o) in the vg (rop) = *wrāp* shows clearly that *w* was not simply dropt before *r*, but that it first rounded it, and then was dropt itself as superfluous: ɔw, ɔwɔ, wɔ, w. In LE *r*, whether answering to old *wr* or to simple *r*, is often rounded, especially in emphatic speaking. Perhaps it is to some such practice that Jones is alluding in the remark cited above.

920. Sb's writing *wnder*, *w* for *wonder*, *woo* would seem to be the result of Welsh habits, as also Jones's sMn (umæn) = *woman*. But that there was a real dislike to the sequence

(w)+(u) is shown by *ooze*=OE *wōs*. *w* has also been dropt after *o* in *thong* and *so*, the last being eME.

921. The loss of the *w* of *answer* is the result of want of stress.

ng

922. Gill appears to be the first writer who recognizes (ŋ) as a separate element. He says, leaving his notation unaltered:

'*N* in illis [literis] est quas nihil mutare diximus: at si *k*, aut *g*, sequatur paulum minuenda est nostra sententia: neque enim (si accuratè expendas) planè ita profertur in *thank* et *think* quemadmodum pronunciatur in *hand* manus, et *nön* NONE nullus. Sed ne adeo nasutuli videamur ut nihil vetustate rancidum ferre possimus: quia *k*, ibi clarè auditur, nec congruum esse reor quicquam veritati propinquum immutare; monuisse tantum volui, sed te invito non monuisse tamen. At si *g* subsequatur vt in *thing* res et *song* canticum; quia sonus literæ *g* ibi nullus est, at semivocalis planè alia quæ ab *n* non minùs distat quàm *m*; literæ *ng*. una erit ex illis compositis, quibus fas esse volui sonum simplicem indicare, ut in *sing* canta, et *among* inter. huc etiam refer illa in quibus *g*, ab *n*, ratione sequentis liquidæ quodammodo distrahitur, a *spangl* nitella, tu *intangl* implicare.'

This quite agrees with the present usage, which pronounces *ng* finally as (ŋ), keeping the *g* before *l* (*spængl*), as also before a vowel, as in (*hangər*) *hunger*, except where the analogy of the forms in which (ŋ) is final have introduced it medially also, as in (*siŋər*) *singer*, (*siŋiŋ*) by the infl. of (*siŋ*). Medial (g) is, however, preserved in the comparison of adjectives, as in (*longər*, *longist*). The fMn usage was no doubt the same.

k, g

923. Initial *k* before *n* is written not only in HVg, as in *knicht* 'knight,' but also by all the other fMn authorities. The sMn Wallis also allows *k* in *know*, *knew*. Jones also says that initial *kn* 'may be sounded *kn*.'

924. Cooper says:—

‘*Kn* sonatur ut *hn*; *knave* nebulo . . . quasi *hnave* etc.’

Lediard (1725) says:

‘K before *n* at the beginning of a word is only aspirated, and spoken as an *h*; *knack* hnäck, *knave* hnäve, *knife* hneif, *knee* hnie, *knot*, *know*, *knuckle*, etc. M. Ludwick says that *k* before *n* is called *t*; Arnold and others declare that it is pronounced *d*. But any one experienced in English pronunciation must own, that only a pure gentle aspiration is observable, and by no means so hard and unpleasant a sound as must arise from prefixing *d* or *t* to *n*.’

This, of course, means that *kn* did not become the present (n) by mere dropping of the *k*, but the *n* was unvoiced by the off breath-glide of the *k*, which was then itself dropt as superfluous. ɾ was afterwards levelled under the more frequent ɳ. The same change of *kn-* into ɳ has taken place in MnIcel., where *kníf* is pronounced ɳf. The *tn* of the Germans was, no doubt, only a clumsy way of indicating the voiceless *n*.

925. Initial *gn* does not occur in the fMn authorities, but was no doubt (gn), parallel to (kn). Jones in sMn makes it simple *n*. Lediard, however, says:

‘Initial *g* before *n* sounds as an aspiration or *h*, not like a hard *g*, as *gnash* hnäsch not gnäsch, *gnat* hnät not gnät, *gnaw* hnah not gnah, *gnomon*, *gnostick*.’

It is possible that *gn-* was levelled under the more frequent *kn*, but a comparison of this statement with that about *wr-* (919), where the term ‘aspiration’ is used without any apparent meaning, makes it altogether doubtful.

926. The old-fashioned fronting of *k* and *g* after (aa) in (kjaat, gjaadn) *cart*, *garden* etc, is evidently the result of the sMn pronunciation of these words with (ææ). When (ææ) became (aa) the preceding front-modified *ks* and *gs* retained and exaggerated the front glide on to the (aa).

t, d; tʃ, dʒ

927. The change of (tj, dj) into (tʃ, dʒ) in thMn, as in (neitʃər, vœdʒər) *nature*, *verdure*, through (næætʃur) etc is quite parallel to that of (sj) into ʃ (915).

The old *ch, j* had already developed into their present sound of (tʃ, dʒ) in fMn, as shown by the insertion of *t* and *d*, which is common in Td, as in *fetche, watche, knoedging* by the side of *knowlege*.

928. The voicing of ME *ch* in *knowledge* = ME *knōwlēche* is evidently parallel to the (z) of *speeches* etc, being due to want of stress. In the LE (grinidʒ, wulidʒ) = *Greenwich* (OE *Grēnawīc*), *Woolwich*, the same change has taken place. We may therefore confidently assume an earlier alternation of strong (eetʃ, whitʃ, sutʃ) *each, which, such* with weak (eedʒ, widʒ, sudʒ) in *whichever* etc, and this is confirmed by Lediard's (1725) (iidʒ, whidʒ).

929. In LE *t* preceded by the hisses *s* and *f* and followed by the vowellikes *l, n, m* is regularly dropped, as in (pisl, faasn, tʃesnət, krisməs) *thistle, fasten, chestnut, christmas*, (ɔfn) *often*. It will be observed that in most of the examples the vowellike cons. is final, and therefore syllabic; it is probable that the dropping of the *t* began in such words. In fMn the *t* was still preserved, as shown by Sb's transliteration *thystl* etc, but not in sMn, so that Buchanan's preservation of it in thMn must be a Scotticism, the *t* in *castle* etc being still preserved even in refined Scotch pronunciation.

930. The triple consonant-groups (ltʃ, ntʃ) are lightened in the same way by throwing out the *t*, as in *milch, bench*. So also (ndʒ) becomes (nʒ), as in *singe*, (ldʒ) as in *bulge* being kept.

931. ME *d* preceded by a vowel and followed by *r*—generally with a vowel between—became (ʒ) in many words in fMn, such as *father, gather, together, hither, mother*.

932. The change of *t* into (p) after *r* in *swarth(y)* seems to be not earlier than thMn.

p, b

933. The loss of final *b* after *m* occurred already in fMn, thus Gill has (lam) = *lamb*. Td has *lambe* but *domme, domm* = *dumb*, which shows that both pronunciations must have existed in the earliest fMn. Such spellings as *limb* and *numb* = ME *lim, numen* seem, indeed, to point to a complete con-

fusion between final *m* after a short vowel, and *mb*, in pronunciation as well as spelling, *lamb* being pronounced (lam, lamb), *limb* being pronounced (lim, limb) indifferently; perhaps the *b* was only sounded before a vowel beginning the next word. Unstressed *b* after *m* was dropt in writing as well as pronunciation in *oakum*=OE *ācumba*.

934. *b* has, on the contrary, been inserted between *m* and *l* in such words as *thimble*, *bramble*. This insertion began in 1ME.

LIVING ENGLISH SOUNDS.

935. If we compare the fMn orthography with that of LE, we see at once that the latter is distinguished (1) by its entire dissociation from the spoken language, and (2) by its fixity. The present E. orthography is practically a system of letter-groups which are partly arbitrary hieroglyphs, partly imperfectly phonetic representations of the language of the 16th cent.

936. If we compare the sound-systems of the two periods, we are struck (1) by the great changes that have taken place—changes which have not been in any way retarded by the increasing fixity of the orthography—and (2) by the greater uniformity of the present pronunciation, which is the result of the greater facilities of communication.

937. In the fMn and sMn periods the influence of spelling on pronunciation seems to have been very slight. But as standard E. came to be spoken over a continually widening area, and as the distinction of polite and vulgar pronunciation developed itself more and more, there arose a strong reaction against the colloquialisms of the sMn period, and in the thMn period many older pronunciations were restored by the influence of the written language, schoolmasters and pronouncing-dictionaries working hand in hand. Thus, in the 17th cent. such a pronunciation as (bækərd)=*backward* was the regular one, and our present (bækwəd) would have seemed—what it no doubt was at first—a pedantic following of the spelling. We see the same process in the present pronunciation of

towards as (təwədʒ) which seems likely to supplant the older and still commoner (tədʒ).

938. In the case of words which have become rare and obsolete, a refashioning of the pronunciation through misinterpretation of the spelling is inevitable, as in our present pronunciation of *behove* as (bihouv) instead of (bihuwv) with the regular (uw)=ME *ō*. These influences have not so much affected the E. part of our vocabulary as they have the Fr and foreign words, where, indeed, the corruption of spelling as well as of pronunciation—the latter the consequence of the former—have been carried to such an extent as to make our present written language almost useless for purposes of historical investigation.

STRESS.

939. The most characteristic feature of LE is the extreme sensibility of its vowels to stress-influence. Most words which occur frequently as unstress members of a sentence develop a *weak* form alongside of the original *strong* form by modification of the vowel and occasionally by consonant-dropping. Thus, in the sentence (-ðəz noubədi ðeə) *there is nobody there*, (ðə) is the weak form of the strong (ðeə). Here there is a distinction of meaning, but in many cases the strong form is simply more emphatic than the weak one, as in (:whot 'aa -ju duwiŋ) *what are you doing?* compared with (whot -ə -ju duwiŋ). Unstress vowels all tend to weakening, generally in the direction of the mixed vowels, and there are several vowels which occur only in unstress syllables: ɫ-, ʌ, ɤ, ɨ, as in (meni, betə, vælju, felou >[wɫʌ]) *many, better, value, fellow*. The last two are weakenings of (uw) and (o, ɔ) resp. The first two are weakenings of a variety of vowels and diphthongs.

940. The history of MnE and LE stress and stress-influence offers great difficulties, because of our defective knowledge of the earlier periods. It is certain that many of our present weak forms are of sMn, some of fMn origin, while the alteration of such forms as (hiz) and (iz) can be traced back to OE (500).

941. The history of MnE sentence-stress cannot be attempted at present. The most characteristic feature of LE as compared with OE sentence-stress is its development of level stress. In such an attributive group as (*big blæk dog*), where in OE the first element would have had a stronger stress than the others, we stress all three words equally. We even separate the elements of a traditional compound in the same way, if the first word is attributive, as in (*ijvniŋ staa*) *evening star* = OE *·æfen-steorra*, and, what is still more remarkable, we isolate inseparable prefixes by means of an independent stress, if they have a full meaning, as in (*·an·kuwɪp*) *uncouth* = OE *·un-cūþ*, the Scotch *unco* (*ʊkə*) still preserving the older stress. All this, as well as the many delicate gradations of stress which in our syntax supply the place of inflection, must be of comparatively late origin.

QUANTITY.

942. In LE long vowels occur only finally, as in (*faa*) *far*, and before voiced cons., as in (*haad*) *hard*, being shortened to half-long before voiceless cons., as in (*haat*) *heart*.

943. Final voiceless cons. are short after a long vowel, as in (*haat*), long after a short vowel, as in (*hæt*) *hat*. If a final voice cons. follows a short vowel, as in (*bæd*) *bad*, the length seems to be generally distributed over both vowel and cons., although it is sometimes confined to the vowel. In vGE there is a tendency to lengthen the vowel before voiceless cons. as well.

944. These rules apply only to strest syllables, unstrest syllables being generally short. A strest short vowel is never followed by a short single cons., unless the cons. is followed by a short stressless vowel without any pause between them, as in (*betə*) *better*. If such a word is drawled out, the length is thrown on to the stressless vowel, as in (*:whot ə piti*) *:ɔɪt ə ɪtɪ*, *what a pity!*

VOWELS.

945. The following is the LE vowel-system, weak vowels being marked by a preceding (-) :

a	-ə	i, -i	e	æ	u, -u	o, -o
ai, au		ij	ei		(j)uw	ou, -ou ; oi
aa	əə	iə	ɛə		(j)uə	ɔ, əə
ɝ	-ɪ	f, -fɹ	ʃ	ɹ	ʒ, -ʒ	
ʃɹ, ɪʃ		fɹ	ʃɹ	(ʃ)ɹɪ	ʒə, -ʒɪ ; ʒɹ	
ʃ	ɪʃ	fɪ	ʃɪ	(ʃ)ɪ	ʒɪ, ʒɪ	

946. The first row consists of *monophthongs*, all of which, though normally short, occur also long (943), the only monophthong among the normally long vowels being (əə). The remaining diphthong-vowels may be classified as *divergent* diphthongs (ai, au, oi), *mid* diphthongs (ei, ou), *high* diphthongs (ij, uw), *murmur* diphthongs (iə, ɛə, uə, əə), and *murmur longs* (aa, ɔ). In these last the murmur is only just audible, while in (əə) it is completely absorbed. There are also the triphthongs (aiə) etc. All these (ə)s are parasite developments due to a following *r* (905).

947. (a)=(1) ME *u*, as in (kam) *come*. (2) *ü*, as in (kratʃ) *crutch*. (3) *o*, as in (avn) *oven*. (4) *ō*, as in (dan) *done*. The full back ɹ is heard in the West of E. and in Scotland. In Vg this vowel tends to widening and lowering, becoming nearly ɪ. American and Irish E. agree in making (a) a sound intermediate to ɹ and ɪ — ɹɹ. The StE sound must be the older, as being nearer the sMn ɪ or ɪ.

948. (i)=(1) *i*, as in (liv) *live*. (2) *ü*, as in (mil) *mill*. (3) *e*, as in (striŋ) *string*. (4) *ē*, as in (sik) *sick*. In *children* (i) has been absorbed by an (u)-modified (ɪ), the glide between them developing into a full (u)—(tʃuldɹən). In *milk* the same rounded (ɪ) has become syllabic, and the preceding vowel has become a glide-vowel—(mjlk), sometimes (mjulk).

949. (e)=(1) *e*, as in (west, best) *west, best*. (2) *a*, as in (meni) *many*. (3) *ī* (*i*) in (ʃerif) *sheriff*. (4) *ē*, as in (dred) *dread*. (5) *ē*, as in (frend) *friend*. (6) *ü*, as in (beri) *bury*.

950. (æ)=(1) *a*, as in (mæn) *man*. (2) *e*, as in (ʃɹæʃ) *thresh, thrash*. (3) *o* in (stræp) *strap*. Tends to ʃ in Vg.

951. u=(1) u, as in (ful) *full*. (2) o, as in (fud, wud) *should, would*. (3) ū in (kud) *could*. (4) ō, as in (fut) *foot*.

952. o=(1) o, as in (lot) *lot*. (2) a, as in (wont, solt) *want, salt*. (3) ô in (hot) *hot*.

953. ai=(1) î, as in (laif) *life*. (2) ū, as in (braid) *bride*. (3) ih, as in (brait) *bright*. (4) ē in (braiər) *briar*. Broadened to ȝr, ȝr̄, ȝr̄ in Vg, the second element being often obscured—ȝr. Before (l) it is almost completely absorbed in Vg, *mile* being confused with *marle*.

954. au=(1) ū, as in (haus) *house*. (2) uh in (dauti) *doughty*. Becomes ȝ in Vg.

955. ij=(1) ē, as in (hij, strijt) *he, street*. (2) ě, as in (ijst) *east*. (3) ě, as in (ijt) *eat*. In Vg the first element is lowered, so that the diphthong approximates to (ei).

956. ei=(1) ā, as in (neim) *name*. (2) ai, as in (dei) *day*. (3) ei, as in (ðei) *they*. (4) ēi, as in (hei) *hay*. (5) ěi, as in (klei) *clay*. In Vg the first element is broadened to ȝ, so that this diphthong is confused with St (ai), except when this latter is broadened (953).

957. uw=(1) ō, as in (kuwl) *cool*. (2) ū, as in (stuwp) *stoop*. (3) ū in (bruwz) *bruise*. (4) eu, as in (struw) *strew*. (5) ēu, as in (gruw) *grew*. Becomes ƿ in Vg.

958. juw=(1) ū, as in (tjuwn) *tune*. (2) eu, as in (njuwt) *newt*. (3) ēu, as in (njuw) *new*. (4) ěu, as in (fjuw) *few*. Becomes ƿ in Vg initially, ƿ non-initially, as in (nuw) *new*.

959. ou=(1) ô, as in (stoun) *stone*. (2) ó, as in (koul) *coal*. (3) ō, as in (wouk) *woke*. (4) ou, as in (floun) *flown*. (5) o(l), as in (fouk, boult) *folk, bolt*. (6) ōu, as in (flou) *flow*. (7) ôu, as in (slou) *slow*. Becomes ȝ in affected, ȝ in Vg speech. Weak (ou), as in *narrow*, becomes (ə) in Vg.

960. oi=(1) oi, as in (vois) *voice*. (2) ū (î) in (boil) *boil sb*.

961. aa=(1) a, as in (graas, haad, haaf) *grass, hard, half*. (2) e(r), as in (staar) *star*. Broadened to ȝ, ȝ in Vg.

962. æ=(1) ir(ür), as in (bætf, bædn) *birch, burden*. (2) er, as in (æp) *earth*. (3) ur, as in (tæf) *turf*. (4) ōr in (wæd) *word*.

963. iæ=(1) ēr, as in (stiər) *steer*. (2) ěr, as in (niər) *near*. (3) ěr, as in (spiər) *spear*.

964. iæ=(1) ēr(?), as in (hæər) *hair*. (2) ěr, as in (iər) *ere*.

(3) *ér*, as in (swɛər) *swear*. (4) *air*, as in (fɛər) *fair*. (5) *eir*, as in (ðɛər) *their*. (6) *ĕir*, as in (stɛəz) *stairs*.

965. uə = *ör*, as in (muər) *moor*.

966. juə = *ūr*, as in (kjuər) *cure*.

967. ɔ = (1) *au*, as in (drɔ) *draw*. (2) *a(l)*, as in (fɔl, wɔk) *fall, walk*. (3) *(w)a*, as in (wɔtər, wɔm) *water, warm*. (4) *(w)e(r)*, as in (pɔt) *thwart*. (5) *or*, as in (hɔs) *horse*. (6) *ōr* in (hɔs) *hoarse*. (7) *our*, as in (fɔti) *forty*. (8) *ou(h)*, as in (kɔf, pɔt) *cough, thought*. (9) *ō* in (brɔd) *broad*.

968. ɔə = (1) *or*, as in (fɔər) *for*. (2) *ōr*, as in (mɔər) *more*. (3) *ör*, as in (bifɔər) *before*. (4) *our*, as in (fɔər) *four*.

The (ə) is dropt when a cons. follows: cp (bifɔə) with (-bi fɔrit) *before it*.

969. The characteristic feature of the LE vowel-system is its diphthonging of all the earlier long monophthongs. The diphthonging of (ei) and (ou) was first noticed by Smart in 1836, but it is probably older, as it occurs also in American E., which still pronounces *fɛ, ɪ* for *our* (ij, uw). The broadening of (ei, ou) to (əi, əu) is not old: it was almost unknown thirty years ago, but is now beginning to push its way into educated speech.

CONSONANTS.

970. The following is the LE cons.-system:

h	—	—	—	p, s, ʃ	f, wh
—	—	—	—	—	—
k	—	t, tʃ	—	—	p
—	—	—	—	—	—
—	j	r	ʃ, z, ʒ	v, w	—
—	—	l	—	—	—
g	—	d, dʒ	—	b	—
ŋ	—	n	—	m	—
ɛ	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—
a	—	ɔ, ɔz	—	ɒ	—
—	—	—	—	—	—
—	ə	ʊ	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—
ə	—	ʊ, ʊz	—	ə	—
ɹ	—	ɹ	—	f	—

971. The LE consonant-system differs comparatively little from the ME. The ME back open α , ɔ , ɛ are wanting, and ME *ch*, *j* have developed into ʧ , ʤ . LE has also developed a voiced (*f*) by the fronting of older (*z*), as in *glazier*.

972. Otherwise the main changes are the loss of initial cons. before another vowellike cons., as in LE (*n*) = ME *kn-*, *gn-*, (*r*) = ME *wr-*, and the dropping of (*r*) when not followed by a vowel, the last being a specially LE change.

973. In Vg—as also in most of the LE dialects (but not in Scotch, Irish, American and Australasian)—(*h*) is dropt, being, on the other hand, sometimes retained or added before an emphatic vowel. In Vg—as also generally in Southern StE—(*wh*) is levelled under (*w*). Vg always, and StE often, level final (*ə*) under (*ər*), adding an (*r*) before another vowel as in (*aɪ'diər əv*) *idea of*. Vg treats (*aa*, *ɔ*) in the same way, as in (*aar -aɪ daʊn nou*) *ah, I do not know*. Vg changes final weak (*ɪ*) to (*n*), as in (*drɔrɪn*) *drawing*. The older Vg (*w*) for (*v*) is now extinct.

FIRST WORD-LIST.

(OLD-MIDDLE-MODERN.)

The following list is intended to include the majority of the words of OE or Scand. origin still in common use. The first column gives the OE forms, Scand. words being marked †. Words which do not occur at all in OE, or do not occur in the form in which they are here given are marked *. Words whose later form-changes are irregular, owing to external influences, are marked †. The second column gives the ME forms, if possible, those of the Ormulum, which are marked †. The third column gives the present spelling. The fourth column gives the present pronunciation, words more or less obsolete in colloquial speech being marked †.

The notes give the various forms for the four periods—Old, Middle, Modern, and Living—each period being separated by a dash. If the first note is preceded by a dash, it applies to the Middle period, and so on. When the name of a text etc is not preceded by any form, it refers to the heading of its period; thus in 1 *VP* means that *earun* is the form in that text, while the note on 7 refers to the second (ME) column. ME forms which occur in unambiguous rhymes are marked † in the notes, or else a specimen rhyme is given, the rhyming words being joined by (:). ME forms in () are from some other than the chief ms: from Lay.², AR¹, from any ms but Ellesm. of Ch. MnE forms in () are transcriptions of the phonetic spellings of the phonetic authorities.

The OE forms are arranged primarily under their vowels in the following order: a (æ, ea), i, e (ē, eo), u, y, o, œ; ā, æ, æ (=non-WS ē), ē (ē), ēa, ēo, ī, ū, y, ō. Scand. *ei* and *öy* go under *eg*, Scand. *ou* under *ō*. The words are then arranged by the cons. which follows the vowel, and lastly by the first cons. that precedes the vowel, both in the following order: h-, r, hr, l, hl, þ, s, w, hw, f; nc, ng, n, m; c, -h, g, t, d, p, b.

a (æ, ǣ).

	earun vb	†arnn	are	aar
	VP. arin Du, Ru.—†aren, are Hr. arn AUP. †are Aud. †er North. (infl. of Scand. eru.) ar TM.—(aar, ar) G. (ær) wol (eer) Jn. (er) Bch. (eer) Fr. (ær) Sh.—(eer) rg.			
	hara	hare	hare	heer
	hæring	hering	herring	herin
	sneare	snares	snares	sneer
5	scær sn (1)	share	(plough)share	plaufeer
	scaru	share	share	feer
	'tonsure.' landscearu 'territory' Grein.			
	stær	sterling	starling	staalin
	—also stare.			
	starian	staren	stare	steer
	spær(stân)	—	spar	spaar
10	sparian	sparen	spare	speer
	wær adj	†warr	ware	weer
	—war: bûr prt, Balthasâr Ch.			
	war(e)nian	warnien	warn	won
	'take care,' 'avoid' — — (aa) Bl. (a) G. (oo) EO, Bch, Sh.			
	faran	†farenn	fare	feer
	mare	mare	(night)mare	naitmeer
15	caru	care	care	keer
	— — (eea) Cp.			
	†ceorig	†chariz	chary	tfeeri
	'querulous'—'mournful,' 'sober.' infl. of caru.			
	bær adj	bar	bare	beer
	— — (æe) Cp.			
	bær prt	†barr	{ bare bore	†beer bør
	also bær—bar Ld. iber, bear (a) Lay. bare: pare, ber: gere CM. bar: Imakar, bor: Awer, bor GE. beer: heer (= hær), messagere, ba(a)r Ch. bare: fare TM.			
	vb	†darr	dare	deer
	CM.			

- 20 pearroc park park paak
 bærlic sf †barrlig barley baali
usually bere—bærlic Ld. bærlic Best. barli(ch) Wicl. barly Ch. bere
Ag., CM.—(barlei) G. (æ) Ld.
 bærs bace bass bæss
a fish.
 arwe ar(e)we arrow ærou
arwan 'catapultas' Althgl; from OI or, pl orvar. earlier OE ærig
OET, earh Greis — (æru) Pr. (æro) Ld.
 spearwa sparwe sparrow spærou
 25 nearu narwe narrow nærou
 gearwe garwe yarrow jærou
 gearwe sflpl gere gear tgier
gerwan, prt gerede vb. OI görvi, pl görvar, whence the ME g.—gæren pl
Lay.—(giir) Cp etc.
 be(a)rwe barow(e) (wheel)barrow bærou
 hærfest †herrfesst harvest haavist
'autumn'—a rare—c, a Td.
 30 arn prt †rann ran ræn
orn VP, eWS. arn Ru.—†ran CM, GE, Hv. ron Kath. zarn PPl, yarn Ay.;
by anal. of earnian etc.
 geearnian ernien earn een
— (earn) Cp. (ærn, jern) Ld.
 fearn ferne fern feen
 gearn garn yarn jaan
— (jaarn) Bll. (a) G.
 earm †arrm arm aam
— (æarm) Bch, SÅ.
 35 hearh harm harm haam
—herm Lay, AR.
 swearm swarm swarm swom
— (sworm) Bch, Sh.
 wearh †warrm warm wom
— (a) Bll. (oo) Cp, EO, Bch, SÅ.
 earc sf †arrke ark aak
 ærce-biscop arch- arch- aatf-
—also erce-, ærce-.
 40 steare †starro stark staak
 spearca sparke spark spaak
 mearc sf †merrke mark maak
'boundary.' mearcian 'mark.' marc 'mark' (coin) lWS from OI mork—
merke from OI merki. Ch has merk 'mark' and mark 'coin.'
 †bork bark bark baak
 mearg marou marrow mærou
—meari Jul. mary(mery) Ch.

45	eart vb	†arrt	art	aat
	earð <i>VP.</i> arð <i>Du.</i> earð, eart <i>Ru.</i> —ert, art <i>North.</i> (e by infl. of <i>Scand.</i> ert).			
	sweart	swart	swarthy	swəpi
	— (swart) swart <i>Sm.</i> (sworþ) swarþ <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
	wearte	werte	wart	wot
	—a rarer.			
	teart	—	tart	taat
	heard	†harrd	hard	haad
	— (hærli) hardly <i>Jn.</i> (hærd) <i>Ld.</i>			
50	†harþna	†harrdnenn	harden	haadn
	—d by anal. of heard.			
	sweard	sward(e)	sward	swod
	'skin.'			
	sceard	sherd	{ shard } { sherd }	ƿaad.
	— (ee) <i>Bch.</i> (e) <i>Sh.</i>			
	weard sb	ward	ward	wod
	em 'guard,' ef 'guardianship.'			
	-weard	-ward	-ward	-wed
	— (bakward) <i>G.</i> (bækerd) <i>Jn.</i> (œokird) <i>Bch,</i> (œokerd) <i>Sh</i> awkward			
	— (bœkerd) etc <i>vg.</i>			
55	tō-weardes	towardes	towards	t(ew)odz
	— (towardz) <i>G.</i> (tœuærd) toward <i>Pr.</i>			
	geard	yerd	yard	jaad
	— (win) iærd <i>Ld.</i> yerd: berd <i>Ch</i> —(a) <i>G.</i>			
	beard	berd	beard	biæd
	— (ee) <i>Cp, Jn.</i> (e) <i>Pr</i> etc. (ee) <i>Ld, Bch.</i> (e) <i>Sh.</i>			
	hearpe	harpe	harp	haap
	scearp	†sharrp	sharp	ƿaap
60	wearp	warp	warp	wop
	'stamen.'			
	†varpa	warpen	warp	wop
	'throw.' <i>OE</i> weorpan 'throw.'			
	alu	ale	ale	eil
	<i>gen.</i> aloþ.			
	brýd-alu	†bridale	bridal	braidl
	aler	allerne	alder	older
	alr <i>later.</i> ælren <i>adj.</i> —from the <i>OE</i> <i>adj.</i> ; cp linden.			
65	†sal en	sale	sale	seil
	smæl	smal	small	smol
	scæl vb	†shall	shall	ƿæl
	seal <i>WS.</i> sceal, scal <i>Ru.</i> —sal <i>North., GE</i> ; salle <i>TM</i> ; orig. a weak form.			
	seel <i>Ay.</i> —(shal, au) <i>Sm.</i> (o) <i>Wk.</i> (œ) <i>Cp.</i> (æ) <i>Mg.</i> (foolt) <i>Bch,</i> (fælt) <i>Sh</i> shalt.			
	scalu	shale	scale	skeil
	'husk'—also scale by infl. of <i>Fr</i> escale.			
	scalu	scole	scale(s)	skeil
	'balance'— <i>Prompt.</i> ; infl. of <i>OI</i> skāl.			

	stæl-wirþe 'serviceable'— <i>stalworþ later.</i>	stalewurþe	stalwart	†stolwet
70	†val-hnot — — (woolnut) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>	walnote	walnut	wo(1)net
	hwæl —qual: withal, hwel: wel <i>Gr. pl</i> †whalle <i>North., TM.</i>	whal	whale	wheil
	fal(o)d	†fald	(sheep)fold	fould
	nehte-gale	nihtegale	nightingale	naitingeil
	talū 'enumeration'— — (<i>teol</i>) <i>Cp.</i>	†tāle	tale	teil
75	dæl	†dāle	dale	†deil
	all — — awl, all <i>HVg.</i>	†all	all	ol
	hall sf	halle	hall	hol
	stall 'standing.'	†stall	stall	stol
	wall — — wawl <i>Sb.</i>	†wall	wall	wol
80	fallan — — fawl <i>HVg.</i> faull <i>Td.</i>	†fallenn	fall	fōl
	†ceallian <i>Grein; lute. OI</i> kalla—caul <i>Sb.</i>	callen	call	kol
	galla	†galle	gall	gol
	gallede 'galled' (<i>of horses</i>).	galled	galled	gold
	al-swā —(e)alswa, als(e) <i>Ld.</i> als(w)o, ase <i>Kt.</i> as(e) (also) <i>AR.</i> 'also' <i>Ch.</i>	{ †allswa †alls(e)	also as	olsou as
	fals <i>late; from Lat. or Fr.</i>	†falls	false	fols
85	salu <i>gen. salwes.</i>	salwe	sallow	sælou
	swalwe — — (swælu) <i>Pr.</i> (swooloo) <i>Bch.</i> (swoloo) <i>Sh.</i>	swalwe	swallow	swolou
	walwian — — (wæloo) <i>Pr. Bch.</i> (woloo) <i>Sh.</i>	walwen	wallow	wolou
	falū 'pale'; <i>gen. falwes.</i>	falwe	fallow	fælou
	malwe	malwe	mallow	mælou
90	calū <i>gen. calwes.</i>	calwe	callow	kælou
	half — — (hoolf, hoof, hoopeni) <i>G.</i> (hoof) <i>Cp, Jn.</i> (hæepeni) halfpenny <i>Jn.</i> (hæepēþ) halfpennyworth <i>Ld.</i> (hææf, heepini) <i>Bch.</i> (hææf, heepeni) <i>Sh.</i> —(heipni, hælpin) halfpenny, Halpin.	†hallf	half	haaf

	salfian	salven	salve	sælv
	— (sææv) <i>Pr, Bch.</i> (soov) <i>Cp, Jn, EO.</i> (sælv) <i>Sh</i> —older (saav).			
	calf	†callf	calf	kaaf
	— caulfe <i>Td.</i> (kaulf) <i>Bl.</i> (koof) <i>Cp, Jn.</i> (kææf) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
	†kalfi	—	calf	kaaf
	‘calf of leg.’			
95	healfter	halter	halter	holter
	ea, æ <i>IWS</i> —helfter <i>Hom.</i> heltir, halter <i>Prompt.</i>			
	ælmesse	†allmess	alms	aamz
	— almus <i>North.</i> ; from <i>OI</i> <i>almusa</i> —(aomz) <i>Jn.</i> (æalmz) <i>Bch.</i> (ææmz) <i>Sh.</i>			
	halm	halm	ha(u)lm	hœm
	cwalm	cwalm	qualm	†kwœm
	‘death,’ ‘destruction.’			
	stalcian	stalken	stalk	stœk
100	walcan	walken	walk	wœk
	‘roll’—(woolk, wook, walkeþ) <i>G.</i> (wook, wœlk) <i>W.</i> (wook) <i>Cp, Jn, Bch, Sh.</i>			
	cealc	c(h)alk	chalk	†fœk
	—chalk <i>Wicl.</i> chalke, calke <i>Prompt.</i> ch points to <i>Et</i> ; cp under cald—(†fœk) <i>G.</i>			
	bale	balke	baulk	bœk
	‘porca’ <i>WGL.</i> balcan ‘heaps.’ <i>OI</i> balk ‘beam.’			
	salh	salwe	sallow	sælou
	‘willow.’			
	galga	galwe	gallow(s)	gælouz
	— (gælas) <i>ES, Bch, Sh.</i>			
105	tælg	taluh	tallow	tælou
	‘dye’— <i>Prompt.</i>			
	halt adj	†hallt	halt	holt
	— (œ) <i>Ld.</i>			
	salt	†sallt	salt	solt
	— (a) <i>Sm.</i> (œ) <i>G, Pr, Cp, Bch, Sh.</i>			
	malt	malt	malt	molt
	— (malt) <i>G.</i> (œ) <i>Ld.</i>			
	ald	†ald	old	ould
	— owd <i>HVg.</i> (ould) <i>G.</i> (oold, ould) <i>W.</i> (ould) <i>Pr.</i> (oould) <i>Jn.</i> (œ) <i>Ld.</i>			
110	alder-mann	†alderrmann	alderman	œldemœn
	haldan	†haldenn	hold	hould
	— howld <i>HVg.</i> (œu) <i>G.</i> (ou) <i>Pr, Cp.</i> (hould, wphœuld) <i>Bch.</i> (œ) <i>Sh.</i>			
	salde prt	†salde	sold	sould
	— (œu) <i>Bl.</i> (ou, œ) <i>W.</i> (ou) <i>Cp.</i> (ou) <i>Bch.</i> (œ) <i>Sh.</i>			
	faldan	folden	fold	fould
	cald	†kald	cold	kould
	—chald, chold <i>KS</i> —(œu, œu) <i>Sm.</i> (œu) <i>G.</i> (œ, œu) <i>W.</i> (œu) <i>Pr, Cp.</i> (œ) <i>Bch.</i> (œ) <i>Sh.</i>			
115	talde prt	†talde	told	tould

- bald** †**bald** **bold** **bould**
 — (ou) *Sm.* (nou) *G.* (oo, ou) *W.* (ou) *Cp.* (oou) *Jn.* (oo) *Ld, Sh.*
 (ou) *Bch.*
- hraþor cp** **raþer** **rather** **raaðer**
 — (raaðer) *G—rg* (reiðer).
- †**lþp sf** — **lathe** **leið**
hwæþer †**whæþþr** **whether** **wheðer**
 æ, e *Ru.*—weðer (wæþer) *Lay.* wheder *TM*; weler *Aud.* are weak forms.
- 120 **fæþm smf** **fadme** **fathom** **fæðem**
 —also fedme. vepme *Lay.* fathom: com *TM.* — (fæðem) *Ld, Bch.*
 (fæðem) *Sh.*
- cwæþ prt** †**cwæþþ** **quoth** †**kwouþ**
 —cweð *AR.* quoð *Jul.* cod (coth) *CM.* quað, quad *GE.* quod *PPl,*
Ch—(kop) rel (kwop) *G.* (koop) *Jn, Sh.* (kwop) *Bch.*
- pæþ** **pap** **path** **paap**
 — (ææ) *Cp, Bch, Sh.*
- bæþ sn** †**baþþ** **bath** **baap**
 — (bæþ) bath, (bææþ) Bath *Lil.* (æ) *Bch.* (ææ) *Sh.*
- baþian** **baþen** **bathe** **beið**
 125 †**baþaask** **basken** **bask** **baask**
 'bathe oneself.'
 †**maþk** **maþek** **mawk(ish)** **mokif**
 'maggot'—later ma(u)k.
- hæsel** **hasel** **hasel** **heisl**
wæss †**wass** **was** **wos**
 — (was) *Sm, Ht.* (waz) *G.* (o) *Cp, Ld, Sh.* (oo) *Bch.*
- græss** †**gress-** **grass** **graaß**
WS gærs, pl grasu. gers *Du.* græs- *Ru.*—gras, græs *Lay.* gressen pl *O.*
grass, griss North. gers *Ay.* *OI* gras, *ODan.* græs—(a) *G.* (græsoþar)
Jn. (æ) *Ld, Bch, Sh.*
- 130 **grasian** **grasen** **grawe** **greis**
glæss **glas** **glass** **glaas**
 —e *AR, Ay.*
 —
 — (3) *Lil.*
- bræss** **bras** **brass** **braas**
 —e *AR, Ay.*
- bræssen** †**brasenn** **brazen** **breisn**
 'of brass,' 'bold.'
- 135 **blæse** **blase** **blaze** **bleis**
 'torch.'
- assa** †**asse** **ass** **aas**
 — (as) *Bl.* (æs) *Bch, Sh.*
- mæsse** †**messe** **mass** **mæs**
 —†mes(æ) *North.* †messe *Ch.* †mas(æ) *AllP, Aud.*—(a, æ) *Sm.* (a) *Bl.*
- æsc** **ash** **ash** **æf**
 the tree—asche, æsche *Prompt.*—aishe, aiss *Sb.*

	asce	†assceas	aah(es)	æf
	—askes North, AHP. aschen (aishen) Ck. aische Wicl.—ashes Td. a Sm. ai Sb.			
140	†rask	rash	rash	ræf
	hlæst	last	last	laast
	'load'—e Prompt.			
	wæscan	†wasahenn	wash	wof
	—wæsc Ag. wash TM. waischen Wicl.—waiss Sb. (o) Mg, Ld, Sk.			
	(so) Beh.			
	fæsce	—	flask	flaask
	flare late.			
	mæsc	—	mash	mæf
	maxwyt late—(mijf) meash EO. (æ) Cp, Beh, Sk.			
145	wæstm	†wasstme	waist	weist
	'growth'—e Ld, Lay.			
	fæst	†fasst	fast	faast
	—æ, e, a Lay. a, e North. e AHP.			
	fæstan	†fasstenn	fast	faast
	fæstenian	†fesstenn	fasten	faasn
	—e Jul., AHP, †Hv. OI festa 'fasten'—(fæsn) Ju, Sk. (fæstn) Beh.			
	mæst	mast	mast	maast
	'of ship.'			
	mæst	mast	mast	maast
	swima m.			
150	†kasta	casten	cast	kaast
	—kæsten (ea) AR. casten (keasten) Jul. keste Ag. kest prt: fayrest MH. e, a CM. cast: last, kest: rest TM. †a, †e REC. a †Hart, And. e AHP. †a Ck—(a) G. (æ) Cp.			
	castel	†kasstell	castle	kaasl
	'village.' 'castle' Chr. 1052. A Winchester charter of 931 has ðara stancæstila as a boundary—(kaasl) Ld, Sk.—(kæstl) Beh.			
	bæst	bast	bast	bæst
	æspe	aspe	aspen	æspin
	—in aspen leef (Ck) aspen is an adj; cp linden. — (aspin) G. (æspin) Ju.			
	hæspe	haspe	hasp	haasp
155	wæsp	waspe	wasp	wosp
	wæfs Cp, wæps Ef. wæps, weaps, wasp Wgl.—(a) G. (oo) Beh. (æ) Sk. —wops eg.			
	awel	awel	awl	ol
	also al—awles Kofk. owl ON, pointing to OE āwel. †oules Ch. el, pl awles AR. al(le) Wicl.			
	clawu	†clawwess	claw	klo
	claw VP—clawe pl ON. clauen pl Ag. claw, cle Prompt. clawe, cle Wicl.—(ao) Sm.			
	†habban	†habbenn	have	hæv
	hafa imper.—habben, hanen inf. Ld—(haav) Sb. (hav) BH.			

	†be-habban 'enclose.'	behaven	behave	biheiv
160	†hofn sf —hævene, hafene <i>Lay.</i>	havene	haven	heivn
	hafoe —hawk <i>Ch.</i>	havek	hawk	høk
	hræfn <i>WS hremm.</i>	raven	raven	reivn
	†slafra	slaveren	slaver	slæver
	scafan	shaven	shave	ſeiv
165	stæf — — (a) <i>Sm.</i> (æ) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>	†staff	staff	staaf
	stafas pl	†stafess	staves	steivz
	wafian	waven	wave	weiv
	†vafra	waveren	waver	weiver
	nafu	nave	nave	neiv
170	nafole —noule <i>Best.</i>	nav(e)le	navel	neivl
	nafo-gār —also navegor.	nauger	auger	oger
	cæf ceaf, pl c(e)afu <i>WS</i> — — (æ) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>	†chaff	chaff	tſaaf
	cæfer ceafor <i>WS—Trecisa.</i>	cheaffer	(cock)chafer	tſeifer
	†craflan uncrafed <i>Laws of Æpr.</i> <i>OI</i> krafu 'demand' <i>sbst</i> , krefja <i>vb.</i>	craven	crave	kreiv
175	†krafia cnafa <i>Scint.</i> Generally cnapa, 'boy.' <i>Neither cnapa nor cnafa in Du. and Ru.</i> —knape <i>O.</i> knave <i>Lay.</i> , † <i>Hv.</i> knafe <i>MH.</i> p. v <i>GE.</i>	craulen	crawl	krol
		knave	knave	neiv
	gæf prt ea <i>WS</i> —gef <i>AR.</i> gaf <i>Wicl.</i> gaf <i>Ay.</i> gaf: staf <i>Ch.</i> gaf <i>North, GE, TM.</i> gef: þef <i>AlIP</i> —(gef, gen) <i>barbare Cp</i> —(giv) <i>rg.</i>	†gaff, gaff	gave	geiv
	†grōf sf <i>OE</i> græf <i>sm.</i>	grave	grave	greiv
	hæfþ vb hæfeð, hæfis <i>Du.</i> hæfþ <i>Rw.</i> —havis (has) <i>CM.</i> heþ <i>Ay.</i> hath <i>Ch.</i>	{ †hæfeþþ hæþ	hath has	†hæþ hæz
180	æfter ræfter —e <i>Ay.</i>	†afterr	after	aafter
	scæft	schaft	shaft	ſaaf
	cræft —e <i>Ay.</i>	†craft	craft	kraaft
	gedæft 'gentle,' 'suitable'—deſte <i>Best.</i>	†daſfte	deft	deft

185	hæðle prt	†hæðle	had	hæd
	—hæðle, hæðle, hæðle, hæðle, hæðle <i>Ld.</i> hæðle <i>AR.</i> hæðle, hæðle (æðle) <i>Ley.</i> hæðle: hæðle <i>ON.</i> hæð (hæd) <i>CM:</i> always <i>monosyll.</i> hæðle <i>Ay.</i> hæð: gæð <i>ASP.</i> hæðle, hæðle, hæðle <i>GE.</i> †hæðle, †hæðle <i>Ch.</i> hæðle: hæðle (=hæðle: hæðle) <i>TM.</i>			
	ancoor	anker	anchor	æŋker
	— — <i>infl. by Lat. anc(ū)ra.</i>			
	ancleow	ancle	ancle	æŋkl
	—also <i>anclowa.</i>			
	†hanki	hanke	hank	hæŋk
	'hæp,' 'clasp.'			
	ranc adj	†ranne	rank	ræŋk
	'proud.'			
190	hlanc	lank	lank	læŋk
	þancian	†þannkenn	thank	þæŋk
	sanc prt	sank	sank	sæŋk
	scanca	shanke	shank	ʃæŋk
	scranc prt	shrank	shrank	ʃræŋk
195	stanc prt	†stanne	stank	stæŋk
	cranc	cranke	crank	kræŋk
	<i>In crancstaf—Prompt.</i>			
	dranc prt	†dranne	drank	dræŋk
	†banki	†bannkess pl	bank	bæŋk
	<i>Of bakki 'bank of river,' 'ridge.'</i>			
	†angr	†anngrenn vb	anger	æŋger
	'grief.'			
200	angel	angel	angle vb	æŋgl
	'hook.'			
	hangian	hangen	hang	hæŋ
	<i>intr. hōn tr—hongien Lay., AR. hongi Ay. hing North.</i>			
	lang	†lang	long	loŋ
	<i>o VP, Du., Ru. o, a eWS. a IWS—lanng adv O. a Ld. o Lay., AR, Best., Ch. o, a Ay. a North. lung adv And—(longer) rectius (longer) W.—(læn, lein) Lang, Laing are North. and Sc. forms.</i>			
	geþrang sn	þrang	throng	þroŋ
	þwang	†þwang	thong	þoŋ
	—thwong <i>Wicl., TM.</i> thong also.			
205	sang sb	†sang	song	soŋ
	—sang, o Ay. song: slong prt Ch. song: emong <i>TM.</i>			
	sang prt	sang	sang	sæŋ
	—sang: emang <i>TM.</i> soong: stroong <i>Ch.</i>			
	strang	†strang	strong	stroŋ
	sprang prt	†sprang	sprang	spræŋ
	†vrang	†wrang	wrong	roŋ
	—mid wrange sb <i>Ld.</i> —wronge <i>Td.</i>			
210	on-gemang	{ †(a)mang amanges	among amongst	əmaŋ əmaŋst

- inmong *Du.*—enmang *Ld.* omang, (a)mangis, mang *North.* among
AR, Best., Harl. amenges *KS.* amang *Ay.* emong; a song *TM*
 —(o) *G.* (u) *Bt.*
- mangere mangere -monger mænger
 †gang — gang gæŋ
*a Scand. form which displaced the OE genge 'troop.' OE gang had only
 the sense of 'going,' 'gait' etc.*
- tang(e) tange tongs toŋz
 †banga — bang bæŋ
- 215 hænep hemp hemp hemp
also henep.
- lane lane lane lein
Blickl. Hom. — also o — (ee) Cp.
- panon pennes thence ðens
 —panon, þe(o)nen *Ld.* panene, þ(e)onene, þ(e)onne, þenne *Lay.* þon-
 ne: monne *ON.* þonne *Kath.* þannes *Ay.* thennes *Ch.* thine *MH.* anal.
of heonon.
- swan swan swan swon
 — — (oo) *Bch.* (o) *Sh.*
- wanian wanien wane wein
 — — (ee) *Cp.*
- 220 hwanon whennes whence whens
 —hwanene, o *Lay.* hweon(e)ne *Jul.* hwannes *Ay.* whennes *Ch.* anal.
of heonon—(i) Mg.
- fana vane vane vein
 'banner'—*Ch.* fane *Prompt.*—(faan) 'weathercock' *Sm.*
- manu mane mane mein
 — — (ee) *Cp.*
- manig †mani(g) many meni
 o *Du., Ru.* a, æ, e *lWS*—moni *Lay., AR.* mony *AlP, Aud.* mani *Ay.,*
North. many *Ch.* also meni; anal. of ænig (?)—(a) *G.* (e) *C.* (mæne)
sometimes Jn. (ææ) *Ld.* (æ) *Bch.* (e) *Sh.*
- cran cran(e) crane krein
 —cran *Lay.* crane *infl. of Scand.* trani?
- 225 ganot gante gannet gænit
 —*Prompt.*
- bana bane bane †bein
 †rannsaka ransaken ransack rænsæk
 spann prt span span spæn
 spannan spannen span spæn
- 230 wann adj wan wan †won
 — — (æ) *Bch, Sh.*
- fann fan fan fæn
 'winnowing-fan.'
- mann †mann man mæn
 cann vb †cann can kæn
 canne canne can kæn

235	be-gann prt	†bigann	began	bigæn
	tannian	tannen	tan	tæn
	panne	panne	pan	pæn
	gebann	(i)ban	ban	bæn
	an-flit(e)	anvelt	anvil	ænvil
	—anefelt, anefeld, anfeeld <i>Wicl.</i> also anvylt.			
240	antefn	antem	anthem	ænþim
	— — (þ, t) <i>Ld.</i>			
	†vanta	wanten	want	wont
	—wontin <i>Jul.</i> —(oo) <i>Bch.</i> (o) <i>Sh.</i>			
	and	†annd	and	ænd
	—ant <i>Marg., Lay.</i> an <i>Lay., GE, Ay.</i> —an(d) <i>Td.</i> (æn) <i>Ld.</i>			
	and-swaru	†anndsware	answer	aanser
	ondsuerer acc. <i>Du.</i> , andsuari <i>Ru.</i> andswarian, -orian vb <i>WS.</i> ondsweorian <i>VP.</i> o, e <i>Du.</i> a, æ, eo <i>Ru.</i> —anndswere also <i>O.</i> æn(d)swere, en- <i>Lay.</i> aunsuere <i>Wicl.</i> —(answer) non (aunsuer) <i>G.</i> (ænsuer) <i>Cp</i> etc.			
	hand	†han(n)d	hand	hænd
	—o <i>Lay., AR, GE.</i> a, o <i>Ay.</i> a <i>North.</i> oo <i>Wicl.</i> o, a <i>Ch.</i> —a, o <i>Td.</i> (hænsəm) 'handsome' <i>Jn.</i> —(hænsəm).			
245	handel	†hanndlennvb	handle	hændl
	— — (hæn) <i>Jn.</i>			
	land	†land	land	lænd
	—oa <i>Procl.</i> o(u) <i>Wicl.</i> —londe <i>Td.</i> (æ) <i>Cp.</i> (lænlord) 'landlord' <i>Jn.</i> —(lænlod).			
	sand	†sand	sand	sænd
	standan	†stanndenn	stand	stænd
	strand	†strand	strand	strænd
250	†vond	†twand	wand	wond
	— — (æ) <i>Bch.</i> (o) <i>Sh.</i>			
	wandrian	wandrien	wander	wonder
	— — (wæondir) <i>Bch.</i> (wonder) <i>Sh.</i>			
	candel	candel	{ candle cannel(coal)	{ kændl kænl
	— — (kænl) 'candle' <i>Jn.</i>			
	gandra	gandre	gander	gænder
	band sn	†bandess pl	bond	bond
	—bande <i>pl Ld.</i> boondis <i>Wicl.</i>			
255	brand	brand	brand	brænd
	hamor	hamer	hammer	hæmer
	lama adj	lame	lame	leim
	†sami	†same	same	seim
	scamu	†shame	shame	feim
260	stamrian	stameren	stammer	stæmer
	fram	fram	from	from
	a <i>Ep., lWS.</i> o <i>Du., Ru.</i> —a <i>Ld., Kath., †Hr., Ay.</i> o, (a) <i>Lay.</i> o, a <i>Ch.</i>			
	nama	†nāme	name	neim
	— — (eæ) <i>Cp.</i>			

	gamen —gomen <i>Lay., AR.</i>	gamen game, <i>pl</i> gemenes <i>Ay.</i>	game †gāme <i>Ch.</i>	geim gam <i>TM.</i>
	hamm sf	hamme	ham	hæm
265	ramm	†ramm	ram	ræm
	swamm prt — — (a) <i>G.</i> (æ) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>	swam	swam	swæm
	crammian —crammin <i>Prompt.</i>	crammien	cram	kræm
	*stampian pil-stampe 'pestle.'	stampen	stamp	stæmp
	*cramp crompeht, 'folialis,' <i>WGl.</i>	crampe	cramp	kræmp
270	lamb — — lambe <i>Td.</i> (lam) <i>G.</i>	†lamb	lamb	læm
	wamb sf —wombe <i>Lay., AR, Ay., AllP, Ch.</i> wambe <i>North.</i> —(womb) <i>Sm.</i> (wuum) <i>Bt, Cp, Bch, Sh.</i> (uum) <i>Jn.</i>	†wambe	womb	wuwm wame : came <i>CM</i> (woom) <i>Dyche.</i>
	camb — — (koom) <i>G.</i> (kuum) <i>Jn, EO.</i> (koom) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>	†camb	comb	koum
	acan (aats) <i>Bull.</i> (hedaats) <i>G.</i> (sæk) <i>vð Pr.</i> (eek) <i>Bch, Sh.</i> <i>subst. ece, ME</i> <i>eche. Mn ache, which was formerly prom. (eits), is a blending of acan</i> <i>and ece.</i>	aken	ache	eik
	æcer	aker	acre	eiker
275	æcern sn —acorn <i>Ch.</i> <i>infl. of corn—(æækern) Cp.</i>	akern	acorn	eikn
	race	rake	rake	reik
	†lak 'defective.'	lak(k)en vb	lack	læk
	lacu <i>Worc. charter of 944—lak from Fr lac.</i>	lak(e)	lake	leik
	pæc — — <i>blending of pak and the vb pecchen from OE þecan.</i>	þak	thatch	þætʃ
280	sacu 'strife.' <i>OI spk 'sake.'</i>	†sake	sake	seik
	†ranssaka	ransaken	ransack	rænsæk
	slæc	slak	slack	slæk
	slacian 'grow slack.'	slaken	slake	slæik
	snaca	snake	snake	sneik
285	scacan	shaken	shake	ʃeik
	sceacol	scakel	shackle	ʃækl
	stacu	stake	stake	steik
	spræc prt	†space	{ spake spoke	†speik spouk
	— — spoke by anal. of <i>ptc</i> sprocen.			

	shta	tehhte	eight	eit
	—shte <i>Ld. Lay.</i>	ahte (ea) <i>Jwl.</i>	eihte (ea) <i>AR.</i>	egte <i>Ay.</i> a <i>North., TM</i> —(aixt) <i>G.</i>
		(eit) <i>Pr.</i>	(ee, ææ) <i>Ld.</i>	
315	eahtopa	tehhtennde	eighth	eitþ
	—eahtupe, eihthupe <i>AR.</i>	egtende <i>Ay.</i>	ahtand <i>North.</i>	egtende <i>GE.</i>
	agþe <i>ALLP.</i>	eigthith , eigte <i>Wicl.</i>	—(aixt) <i>G.</i>	(eeþ) <i>Beh.</i> (eeþ) <i>Sh.</i>
	hleahtor	lahter	laughter	laafter
	— (lauhter) <i>Sm.</i>	(looter) <i>Jn</i> —(laaftjer) <i>vg.</i>		
	þslahter	slahter	slaughter	sloter
	<i>OI</i> slātr.			
	fæht prt	faht	fought	foþ
	—a <i>North., ALLP.</i>	faught <i>Ch</i> —(fauht) <i>Sm.</i>	(foot) <i>Jn.</i>	fought from <i>ptc</i>
	fohten.			
	mæhte prt	þmihhte	might	mait
	æ <i>VP.</i> <i>Du., Ru.</i>	ea, æ, e <i>eWS.</i>	i <i>LWS</i> —a <i>Jwl.</i>	a (i) <i>Lay.</i> i <i>AR.</i>
	ti, u, o <i>North.</i>	moucte: douth (= dohte) <i>Hv.</i>	ty, ta <i>TM.</i>	myghte <i>Ch.</i>
	—nicht <i>HVg.</i>	(moot, med) <i>barbare</i> <i>Cp.</i>		
320	þdraht	draht	draught	draaft
			draft	
	<i>OI</i> drātt — (droot) <i>Cp, Jn, EO.</i>	(dræft) <i>Ld.</i>	(dreut) <i>Beh.</i>	(drout) <i>Sh.</i>
	þagi	þaghe	awe	o
	<i>OE</i> ege—also <i>egze</i>	<i>O.</i> eie, mie <i>Ld.</i>	ei(g)e, mie (eaye) <i>Lay.</i>	aw <i>North.</i>
	eige, þage <i>GE.</i>	þeye, þawe <i>RBC.</i>	awe <i>Prompt., Ch</i> —(au) <i>Sm.</i>	(au, aa) <i>Sh.</i> (ouu) <i>G.</i>
	þogn sn	awene	awn	on
	‘husks.’			
	haguþorn	haweporn	hawthorn	hoþon
	hægl	hall	hall	heil
	hegel <i>VP.</i>	hagol <i>WS</i> —hægel (hawel) <i>Lay.</i>	hail <i>Ch.</i>	
325	læg prt	þlagg	lay	lei
	— (lai) <i>G.</i> —(leid) <i>vg.</i>			
	þlagu	lawe	law	lo
	<i>late OE. from Scand. pl neut.</i>	*lagu (<i>OI</i> lagg) —	(laau) <i>Sm.</i>	(lauful)
	<i>Bl.</i> (lœu, looful) <i>G.</i>			
	ût-laga	utlawe	outlaw	autlo
	ût-lah			
	sage	sawe	saw	sø
	‘serra.’			
	sagu	sawe	saw	sø
	‘saying.’			
330	slægen ptc	þslagenn	slain	þslein
	æ, e <i>Ep.</i> æ, e <i>Past.</i>	æ, a <i>Or.</i> a, e <i>Æfc.</i>	e <i>VP.</i> æ <i>Du.</i> æ, a <i>Ru.</i> —	
	slawen <i>Lay.</i> , þHv.	slagen ; fagen <i>GE.</i>	sla(i)n <i>North.</i>	islein <i>AR.</i>
	þslain , þslawe <i>Ch.</i>	þslayn , þslawen <i>RBC.</i>		
	þslæa vb	þsla	slay	þslei
	slægen ptc —	alee <i>Ch.</i>		
	snægl	snail	snail	sneil

	wæp	siawe	siaw	þjo
	'weel'			
	twæglæt	wæppen	wag	wæg
	OE wæp 'weel' wæp 'weel'— <i>Ay., Prompt.—a</i>) <i>Ld.</i>			
	wægn	twægn	wain	twain
	WF etc.			
335	fæger	þfægg	fair	fear
	— (fair, fair, fair, fair) <i>G.</i> (fair) <i>Cp.</i> (fear, fear, fear) <i>Ja</i>			
	fægen	fain	fain	þfein
	— <i>fin Ley. RR. fægen Red. GE. fæve Ch.</i>			
	fægiant	fennen	fawn	fœn
	þfægn			
	'fægn'— <i>finen Ley. North. as PP. Ch.</i>			
	nægl	þnæggen vð	nail	neil
	næg	þnæg	may	mei
345	mæga	mawe	maw	þmo
	mægen	main	main	mein
	— (æ) <i>Cp.</i>			
	on-gæga	þ(oun)gen	again	ege(i)n
	on-gæges	þoungeness	against	egenst
	onra'g'n + <i>WB.</i> onra'a'n <i>WB.</i> onra'g'n <i>Da., Ra.</i> onraen <i>Da.—</i>			
	<i>ea</i> , <i>eo</i> , <i>e</i> <i>Ld.</i> ei, <i>ea</i> <i>Ley.</i> ai <i>North., ALP.</i> þey <i>Hr.</i> aye, ayens			
	<i>EL.</i> agen: on (=in), agen: ten (=teen), agen: rein <i>GE.</i> agayn: slayn			
	<i>Ch.—</i> agaynt (ei) <i>HVg.</i> ageyne, agaynt, ei, agenste <i>Td.</i> (again, agenst,			
	against) <i>G.</i> (agen, egen, gainst) <i>Ja.</i> (agemet) <i>Pr.</i> (egen) <i>Ld.</i> (egen)			
	<i>Ed., Sh.—</i> (egen) <i>eg.</i>			
	gnagan	gnawen	gnaw	no
	— (nho) <i>Ld.</i>			
345	tægl	tail	tail	teill
	— (ai) <i>Sm.</i> (æ) <i>Cp.</i>			
	dæg	þdagz	day	dei
	pl dagas— <i>dages</i> , dai'g), daig, dai, pl dagas <i>Ld.</i> pl daghes, dagges <i>O.</i>			
	dei, dai pl dawes <i>AL.</i> day, pl dagas, daies <i>Ay.</i> þdai, ilke þdau <i>North.</i>			
	dai, pl deies <i>Best.—</i> day, dae <i>HVg.</i> (dai, daai, dee) <i>G.</i> (dai) <i>W.</i>			
	(dee) <i>Cp.</i>			
	dæges-æage	daiesie	daisy	deizi
	dagian	dawen	dawn	dœn
	—later dawnen.			
	dragan	{ þdraghenn	draw	dro
		{ draggen	drag	dræg
	— <i>Swed.</i> dragga.			
350	pægel	payle	pail	peil
	'gillo' gl— <i>Prompt.</i>			
	brægen	brain	brain	brein
	raggig	ragge	rag	ræg
	raggie (notosa, notiger) <i>Aldhgl.</i>			
	æcenæga	—	shag	fæg
	'head of hair' = feax <i>Wgl.</i>			

	†baggi	bagge	bag	bæg
355	sægde prt sæle <i>WS.</i> gd <i>Du., Ru.</i> —sæ(i)de <i>Ld.</i> seide <i>Jul.</i> said <i>North.</i> se(i)de <i>Kt.</i> sayde, seyde <i>Ch</i> —(ai, e) <i>G.</i> (e, ee) <i>Jn.</i>	†sægðe said	said	sed
	mægden <i>WS</i> mæden — — mædyn <i>HVg.</i>	†mægðenn maid(en)	maid(en)	meid(n)
	sæt prp	†att	at	sæt
	hatian	†hätenn	hate	heit
	†læt adj	lat }	late	loit
	late adv	late }		
360	lator	later	{ latter later	læter leiter
	latost	{ †late(me)st †lattst	latest last	leitist laast
	— — (læast) <i>Cp.</i> (læsi) 'lastly' <i>Jn.</i>			
	þæt	†þatt	that	ðæt
	— — ddat <i>HVg., Sb.</i>			
	sæt prt	†satt	sat	sæt
	also sät—sæt: feet <i>Ch</i> —sate <i>Td.</i>			
	sæternes-dæg	†saterddagg	saturday	sætedi
	also sætresdæg—sæterdai (setersdai) <i>CM.</i>			
365	†akata sf <i>a fish.</i>	scate	skate	skelt
	wæter	†waterr	water	woter
	— — (waater) <i>Bll.</i> (oo) <i>Cp., Jn., Bch., Sh.</i>			
	watol	watol	wattle	wotl
	— — (oo) <i>Cp.</i> (o) <i>Mg., Sh.</i> (æ) <i>Bch.</i>			
	hwæt,	†whatt	what	whot
	— — (wæt) better (whæt) <i>Jn.</i> (whot) <i>Mg., Ld.</i> (sumæt) 'somewhat' <i>Jn.</i>			
	fæt	†fatt	vat	væt
	—vet <i>Ay.</i>			
370	frætwan 'adorn.'	fretted ptc	fret	fret
	†flat	flat	flat	flæt
	cræt sn <i>pl cratu.</i>	†karrote	cart	kaat
	clatrian	clatren	clatter	klæter
	gæt sn	†gate, gate	gate	geit
	geat <i>pl gatu WS.</i> æ, ea <i>Du.</i> ea <i>Ru.</i> —iateward <i>Ld.</i> get <i>AR.</i> yate <i>North., Allp.</i> yate, gate <i>TM.</i> gate <i>Ch</i> —(ee) <i>Cp.</i>			
375	be-gæt prt	†bigatt	{ begat got	bigæt got
	ea <i>WS</i> —begæt, beiet, beiet <i>Ld.</i> bigeat <i>Lay.</i> biget <i>AR.</i> bigat: get adv <i>GE.</i>			
	†batna 'improve.'	—	batten	†bætn

	hæt	hat	hat	hæt
	<i>hætas pl Lei. gl.</i>			
	lætt sf	lappæ	lath	laap
	— <i>Prompt.</i> —(læp) <i>Bl.</i> (æ) <i>Bch.</i> (ææ) <i>Sh.</i>			
	mattoo	matto	mattook	mæte
380	catt(e)	kat	cat	kæt
	— — (æ) <i>Cp.</i>			
	gnætt	gnat	gnat	næt
	— — (nhæt) <i>Ld.</i>			
	tættee-	tatered ptc	tatter	tæter
	<i>tættecon Æfch. OI totrur 'raga.'</i>			
	prættig	prati	pretty	priti
	'cunning' — — <i>preti HVg.</i> (e) <i>Bt.</i> (i) <i>Sh.</i>			
	adela	adel(ey)	addled	ædld
	<i>filth '—' addled egg.</i>			
385	adese	adse	adse	æds
	hladan	laden	lade	leid
	hlædel	ladel	ladle	leidl
	sæd	sad	sad	sæd
	'satiated.'			
	sadol	sadel	saddle	sædl
390	scadu	{ schade	shade	ſeid
		{ schad(e)we	shadow	ſædou
	<i>scædwian vb. also scæd 'shade.'</i>			
	spade	spade	spade	speid
	wadan	waden	wade	weid
	fæder	†faderr	father	fæðer
	— <i>fader Ch, TM—fæddyr HVg.</i> a, aa <i>Ch.</i> (a, aa) <i>G.</i> (ææ) <i>Wk.</i> (œ)			
	<i>Jn. (fæwðir) Bch. (fæwðer) Sh.</i>			
	mædere	mader	madder	mæder
395	cradol	cradel	cradle	kreidl
	gædrian	†gæddrenn	gather	gæðer
	a <i>WS.</i> ea <i>Dw.</i> —a <i>Ld.</i> e <i>AR.</i> a, (e) <i>Ch</i> —gædre <i>Td.</i>			
	æt	{ gædre	†togeddre	together
	tō			togæðer
	a <i>WS.</i> æ, ea <i>North.</i> —togadere (e) <i>Lay.</i> e <i>AR, TM.</i> i <i>North., Kt.</i>			
	<i>togidre (e) Ch. togedyr, together Aud.—togedder, th, dth Td.</i>			
	glæd	†gladd	glad	glæd
	bæd prt	†badd	bade	bæd
	— — <i>bade Td.</i>			
400	blæd sn	blade	blade	bleid
	†gadd	gad	gadfly	gæðflai
	'goad.'			
	apa	ape	ape	eip
	†læpe-wince	lappewinke	lapwing	læpwin

	lapiān 'lambo.'	lap(p)en	lap	læp
405	sæp —zep <i>Ay.</i>	sap	sap	sæp
	‡akapa <i>OE sceppan. ie, y WS—sh from OE. shippennð sb O. schuppindc AR.</i> <i>ssepþ Ay. shapen Ch—shappes sb pl, Td. ssiapp sb Sb.</i>	†ahapenn	shape	ʃeip
	scrapian —also scrapen, by infl. of Scand. skrapa.	schrapen	scrape	skreip
	stapol	stapel	staple	steipl
	mapuldor	mapel	maple	meipl
410	‡gapa	gapen	gape	geip
	tapor	taper	taper	teiper
	papol-stān	pobbel	pebble	pebl
	æppel	†appell	apple	æpl
	‡happ	hap	(mis)hap	hæp
415	læppa	lappe	{ lap lappet	læp læpit
	hnappian	nappen	nap	næp
	cæppe — — (æ) <i>Cp.</i>	cappe	cap	kæp
	‡klappa <i>OE clæppetung.</i>	clappen	clap	klæp
	tæppe	tap(p)e	tape	teip
420	tæppe	tappe	tap	tæp
	tæppet —typet (e) <i>Ch.</i>	tipet	tippet	tipit
	træppe	trappe	trap	træp
	abbod	abbed	abbot	æbet
	—also abbod, abbot, the latter by infl. of Lat. or OFr.			
	sceabū	{ scab shab	scab shabby	skæb ʃæbi
	—scab infl. of Scand.: Swed. skabb.			
425	crabba	crabbe	crab	kræb
	‡gabba	gabben	gab(ble)	gæb(l)

i.

hire dat.	†hire	her	heer
y <i>IWS</i> —i <i>Ld, Jul.</i> i, e <i>North., AUP.</i> (hure) <i>PPI.</i> hir(e), here: swere <i>Ch</i> —(her, i) <i>G.</i>			
cirice	†kirrke	church	tʃeetʃ
<i>IWS</i> cyrce—chirche <i>Jul., Lay.</i> cher(e)che <i>Kt.</i> kirke <i>North., Best., AUP.</i> cherche: werche, chirche, chorche, kerke: erke (=irk <i>vb</i>) <i>Aud.</i> chirche <i>Ch</i> —ts(i)urts <i>Sb.</i> (i), (u) <i>vel</i> (yy) <i>Sm.</i> (u) <i>G.</i>			

	†hvirfla	whirlen	whirl	wheel
	— (e) <i>Bl.</i> (i) <i>G.</i>			
430	birce	birche	birch	beetf
	—also e, u, birke.			
	hirde	†hirde	(shep)hard	ƒeped
	i, ie e <i>WS.</i> y l <i>WS.</i> eo <i>VP.</i> io <i>Du.</i> io, eo <i>Ru.</i> —h(i)erde <i>Ch.</i> —shepheard			
	<i>Td.</i> (ƒepherd) <i>G.</i> (ƒeperd), (keuhærd) <i>Ja.</i> (ƒepird) <i>Bc.</i> (ƒeperd)			
	<i>Sh.</i>			
	swilian	swilen	swill	swil
	'wash.' also swillan.			
	†skil sn	†skill	skill	skil
	—schil, skil <i>AR.</i> scele, skele <i>Ay.</i> skile (skil, skill), unschill (sk) <i>CM.</i>			
	skylle <i>PC.</i>			
	mil-dēaw	mildeu	mildew	mildjuw
	'nectar'— <i>Prompt.</i> mældew <i>Wicl.</i>			
435	†till prp	†till	till	till
	tilian	tilien	till	till
	dile	dil(1)e	dill	dil
	bile	bile	bill	bil
	†ill	ille	ill	il
	— <i>Lay., ON, GE, PC.</i> ille <i>pl, adv O.</i>			
440	scilling	shilling	shilling	ƒiling
	stille	†stille	still	stil
	willa	†wille	will	wil
	wile vb — i woll <i>Td.</i> (wsl) <i>barbare Cp.</i> (woont) won't <i>Ld.</i> —(wount).			
	bill sn	bil	bill	bil
	'sword.'			
	fylmen	fylme	film	film
445	seoloc	silk	silk	silk
	seolcen, silcen <i>aij.</i> <i>OI</i> silki—seolke <i>dat. Lay., AR.</i> also selk(e).			
	milce adj	mylche	milch	milf
	†gunde-swilge	grundeswilie	groundsel	ƒraunsal
	<i>later grundeswylge.</i>			
	hilt(e)	hilt(e)	hilt	hilt
	spildan	spillen	spill	spil
	ld <i>VP.</i> ll <i>Or., Du.</i> 'destroy.'			
450	wilde	†wilde	wild	waild
	milde	†milde	mild	maild
	cild	†child	child	ƒaild
	— (ei) <i>G.</i>			
	cildru pl	†chilldre	children	ƒuldren
	cild <i>Cp, VP, Past., Or., Du.</i> cild(ru) <i>AfcH.</i> cildru <i>Ru.</i> —children <i>Jal., Ay., Ch.</i> childer <i>North., Allp, TM.</i> —(ƒilren) <i>Ja.</i> —older (ƒildrin).			
	†gildi sn	gilde	guild	gild
	'tribute, feast, guild.' geld 'payment' <i>OE.</i> —geld, gilde 'tribute.' gilde			
	<i>Lay., gylde Prompt.</i> 'guild.' geldehalle (gilde-) 'guildhall' <i>Ch.</i>			

- 455 **smip** **smip** **smith** **smip**
wip **twipp** **with** **wið**
— — wyth, wythout *HVg.* (*wip*), (*wep*) *barbare Cp.*
wipig **wipi** **withy** **wiði**
wippe 'band.'
ſpele **ſpele** **fiddle** **fidl**
‡kip sn **‡kide** **kid** **kid**
460 **piþa** **piþ(e)** **pith** **piþ**
siþpan **‡siþpenn** **since** **sins**
— *scoppen*, *u Lay.* *zeþþo Ay.* *siþ(en)*, *siþenes PPL.* *sithen (syn, sithens) Ch.* *siþen*, *sen RBC.* *sythen*, *syn TM—syns HVg.*
smipþe **smipþe** **smithy** **smiði**
— *also smipi*, *from OI smipja through *smipige.*
is vb **‡iss** **is** **is**
— — *ys*, *is HVg.* *y Sb.* (*ix*) *G.*
his **‡hiss** **his** **his**
— — *hys*, *his HVg.*
465 **risen ptc** **‡risenn** **risen** **rian**
þis(a) **‡þiss** **this** **ðis**
— — *ddys HVg.* *Sb.*
— **þise, þese** **these** **ðijs**
— — (*ðiiz*) *G.*
gise **ysis** **yes** **jes**
cp nece 'no.' *ise*, *see Du.—yus Lay.* *yes Shoreh.*, *CM—(jis, e) Sm.*
(*jiis*) *Mg.* (*is*) *Jn.*
wisnian **wisenen** **wisen(ed)** **wisand**
470 **glynian** **glis(e)nien** **glisten** **glian**
— — (*glian*) *Jn.*
missan **‡missenn** **miss** **mis**
bliss sf **‡blisse** **bliss** **blis**
— — *blyes HVg.*
risc **rische** **rush** **raf**
— *u PPL, Prompt.* *resse Ay.*
fisc **fish** **fish** **fiʃ**
— *fissk O, from Scand.* *fisk.*
475 **miscian** **mixen** **mix** **miks**
— *from *mixian.*
disc **dish** **dish** **diʃ**
biscop **bissshop** **bishop** **biʃep**
— *bisscop O, from Scand.* *biskup.*
þistel **þistel** **thistle** **þial**
— — *thystl Sb.*
wistlian **hwistlen** **whistle** **whial**
later hwistlian by anal. of hwinan, hwisprian—(whistld) prt G.
480 **wrist sf** **wriste** **wrist** **rist**
— — (*risbend*, *rizben*) *wristband Jn—(risbend).*

	mist	mist	mist	mist
	mistel-tæn	—	mistletoe	misltou
	tæn "twig"—only miscell.			
	gristle	gristel	gristle	grisł
	twist	twisten vb	twist	twist
	"rope."			
485	distaf	distaf	distaff	†distaaf
	wisp adj	lispēn vb	lisp	lisp
	hwisprian	whispren	whisper	whisper
	crisp	crisp	crisp	krisp
	"curly-haired."			
	lifer sf	livre	liver	liver
490	sife	sive	sieve	siv
	— — cyse Sb.			
	wifel	wivil	weevil	wijvl
	— also wevil, by anal. of wefan!—(wivil) Bt.			
	clif sn	clif	cliff	klif
	gif	†(g)iff	if	if
	i VP. i, e Du. i Ru.—gef Jul. yef Kt. if (yif) Ch.			
	drifen ptc	†drifenn	driven	drivn
495	†prift sf	þrift	thrift	þrift
	siftan	siften	sift	sift
	swift	†swifft	swift	swift
	†skifta	†shifftenn	shift	þift
	scyfte Chron. Laud 1046.			
	scrift sf	†shriffte	shrift	†þrift
500	gift sf	gifte	gift	gift
	gift (pretium) Laws of Ine; OI gift—yefse Ay.			
	†drift sf	drifte	drift	drift
	sincan	†sinnkenn	sink	siŋk
	slican	selyncen	slink	sliŋk
	serincan	shrinken	shrink	ʃriŋk
505	stincan	†stinnkenn	stink	stiŋk
	wince	wynche	winch	wiŋʃ
	wincian	winken	wink	wiŋk
	— — i Sb.			
	wrincl	wrinkil	wrinkle	riŋkl
	— — wrinkl Sb.			
	finc	finch	finch	fiŋʃ
	— — (fiuʃ) Finch G.			
510	twincian	twincen	twinkle	twiŋkl
	— — twinkl Sb.			
	drincan	†drinnkenn	drink	drinʃk
	— — i Sb.			

	hring	ring	ring	rin
	— ring <i>HVg.</i>			
	(h)ringan	†ringenn	ring	rin
	— i <i>Sb.</i>			
	þing	†þing	thing	þin
	— thing <i>HVg.</i> —(nafin) nothing <i>vj.</i>			
515	singan	†singenn	sing	sin
	— i <i>Sb.</i>			
	swingan	swingen	swing	swin
	stingan	†stingenn	sting	stin
	springan	†springenn	spring	sprin
	wringan	wringen	wring	rin
520	finger	finger	finger	finger
	cringan	—	cringe	kring
	— crenchen (crengen) <i>Marg.</i> —cringe is a blending of the strong cringan and a weak *crengan.			
	clingan	olingen	cling	klin
	‘wither.’			
	bringan	†brinngenn	bring	brin
	i <i>VP, lWS.</i> e <i>Du., elKt.</i> i, e <i>Ru., eWS</i> —e <i>Ay.</i>			
	in	†inn, i	in	in
	—aleo ine <i>Jul., Ay;</i> from weak <i>OE</i> innan—yn <i>HVg, Sb.</i>			
525	linetwige	—	linnet	linit
	sinu sf	sinewe	sinew	sinju
	<i>WS.</i> seonu <i>Cp</i> —e <i>Lay.</i> eo <i>Marg.</i> e <i>GE.</i> i <i>Prompt.</i> i, e <i>Wicl.</i>			
	scinu	schine	shin	fin
	spinel sf	spindle	spindle	spindl
	— (spnl) <i>Js.</i>			
	tin	tin	tin	tin
530	inn adv, sb	†inn	in, inn	in
	†skinn	†akinn	skin	skin
	scynnon <i>Chr.</i> 1075.			
	spinnan	spinnen	spin	spin
	gewinnan	†winnenn	win	win
	— wynning <i>HVg.</i> wynn <i>Sb.</i>			
	finn sm	finne	fin	fin
535	oinn	chin(ne)	chin	†fin
	be-ginnan	†biginnenn	begin	bigin
	getwinn	†twinn adj	twin	twin
	binn sf	binne	bin	bin
	winter	†winnterr	winter	winter
540	flint	flint	flint	flint
	minte	minte	mint	mint
	hind sf	hinde	hind	haind
	be-hindan	†bihinndenn	behind	bihaind

	bindetan	binden	binden	binden
545	bind of	binde	bind	bind
	— — (pde) <i>Ja</i> .			
	bind of	binde	binden binde	binden bain
	binden adj.—binden was become binden, whence is the 18th cent. binden.			
	binden	binden	binden	binden
	— — binden by conf. with <i>Fr</i> binden.			
	bind	bind	bind	bind
	— — wyde, wyde <i>SL</i> ½ <i>Ch</i> (a) <i>G</i> (a) <i>Cp</i> (wainil) <i>Bo</i> . (wainil) <i>SL</i> .			
	binden	binden (chut)	bind	bind
550	bind-ke	binden	binden	binden
	'binding-ke' — — (binden) <i>Ld</i> (bind) <i>Bo</i> (bind) <i>SL</i> .			
	bind-paga	binden	bind	bind
	'bind-ke'—disjunct (binden) <i>AR</i> binden <i>GE</i> binden: yeten			
	binden	binden	bind	bind
	binden	binden	bind	bind
	binden	binden	bind	bind
	— — (binden) <i>Ja</i> —(binden) binden, <i>vy</i> (binden).			
555	binden	binden	bind	bind
	— — ½ <i>Ch</i> (a) <i>G</i> .			
	blind	blind	blind	blind
	him	him	him	him
	— — hym <i>HVg</i> .			
	rime	rime	rim	rim
	lim en	limen	lim	lim
	— — (lim) <i>Sm</i> .			
560	scimerian	shymeren	shimmer	shimmer
	shymerien (cerulei gurgitis) <i>BoGL</i> .			
	shimol	shimol	shimble	shimble
	'capax'—inf. of <i>vb</i> niman 'take.'			
	swimman	swimmen	swim	swim
	grimm	grimm	grim	grim
	dim	dim	dim	dim
565	impa	ympe	imp	imp
	'graft.'			
	*climban	climbenn	climb	claim
	clom <i>pvt Or</i> . clumben <i>pvt pl Chr</i> 1070 — — (kleim) <i>G</i> .			
	timber	timbredd	timber	timber
	to	to, i	I	ai
	noedig etc <i>Du</i> .—ic, ti <i>North</i> . hic <i>KS</i> . ich <i>Jul</i> , <i>AR</i> . <i>Ch</i> —ol, i <i>HVg</i> . ei <i>Sb</i> . (ei) non (ei) <i>G</i> .			ti, thee'ch: beech
	sicol	sikel	sickle	sikl

- 570 **stioe** **stiche** **stitch** **stif**
 'stitch (in side).'
stician **stikien** **stick** **stik**
 'pierce,' 'adhere'—*steke fast Td.*
gestricen ptc **striken** **stricken** **†striken**
wice **wiche** **wich(elm)** **witf**
wicu **†wuke** **week** **wijk**
 also wucu in WS—wike Lay. wuce Ld. woke Ay. wowke, wyke (e)
 Ch—(ii) Sm.
- 575 **ficol** **fikel** **fikle** **fkl**
flicorian **flikeren** **flicker** **fliker**
 'flutter.'
micel **†mikell** **much** **matf**
 y lws by anal. of lytel—mikel North., Best., GE, †He, †RBC; from
 Scand. mikil. muhe(1) Jul. much, mukel AllP. michel KS. moche
 Ay. muhe(1) (o) Ch. mekyl, moche Aud. mekylle, mych TM—(u)
 Sm, G. y Sb—(mit[el] Mitchell.
- cicen** **chiken** **chicken** **†fikin**
owic **†wice** **quick** **kwik**
 lws cucu. cucum (and cwicum) also in Past.
- 580 **ticia** **tike** **tick** **tik**
pie **pich** **pitch** **pitf**
prician **priken** **prick** **prik**
pricel **prikil** **prickle** **prikil**
liocian **likken** **lick** **lik**
- 585 **†bikar** **biker** **beaker** **bijker**
þicee **þikke** **thick** **þik**
 —kk from Scand. þykk.
sticca **stikke** **stick** **stik**
wicee { **wicohe** **witch** **witf**
 †wikke **wicked** **wikid**
 —wicci ræd 'bad advice' Ld 1140; wikke in O 'worthless,' 'feeble;' in fl.
 of wāc! wykede Ay. †wikke, wikked Ch.
- flicce** **flicche** **flitch** **flitf**
- 590 **giocan** **giochen** **itch** **itf**
twiccian **twiechen** **twitch** **twitf**
 *—the och points to *twiocan.*
bicee **bicche** **bitch** **bitf**
gesihþ af **†sihhte** **sight** **sait**
 —ishþe, siht Lay.
be-twix **bitwixe** **betwixt** **†bitwikst**
 i Ru. eo, u Past. y lws.
- 595 **wiht af, sn** **†wihht** { **wight** **†wait**
 whit **†whit**
gewiht sn **†wehhte** **weight** **weit**
 —wiht Lay. wyzte Ay. wyghte, weighte Ch. e due to infl. of wegan

'carry,' 'weigh'—(waixt) *G.* (wæit) *Pr.* (wæit) *Mg.* (œ, œœ) *Ld.* (œ)
EO, Bch, Sh.

	dihtan	dihten	dight	†dait
	pliht	†plihht	plight	plait
	stigu	stie	stye	stai
600	stigel sf	stile	stile	stail
	Frige-dæg	fridai	Friday	fraiddi
	nigon	†nighenn	nine	nain
	—†nin <i>CM.</i> neghen <i>PC.</i> negen <i>Ay.</i> neyn <i>TM.</i> nyn <i>Ch.</i>			
	ti(o)gole	tile	tile	tail
	—tigel <i>GE.</i> tegele <i>Ay.</i>			
	twig sn	twig'ge)	twig	twig
	twiggo, twicgo <i>pl Du.</i> —twigge <i>Prompt.</i> tuyg, tuyegges <i>Ay.</i>			
605	†liogan	†lin	lie	lai
	'jacere.' <i>imper.</i> lige—lien <i>inf. Ld.</i> lie <i>North.</i> ligge: brigge, †lie <i>Hv.</i>			
	†lie <i>Ch.</i> †lye <i>RBC.</i> †ly, lig <i>TM.</i> —(lei) <i>G.</i> —rg (lei).			
	ëar-wiega	erwigge	earwig	iewig
	hit	†itt	it	it
	—it <i>Ld., North.</i> hit <i>AR, Kt, Ch.</i> —(h)yt <i>HVg.</i> hyt, hit <i>Td.</i>			
	þritig	þrittig	thirty	þeeti
	tt <i>Du.</i> tt, t <i>Ru.</i> , WS—þriti <i>Ld, Jul., CM.</i> thritty <i>Ch.</i> thretti <i>Wicl., Prompt.</i> thirti <i>Prompt.</i>			
	sliten ptc	sliten	slit	slit
610	smiten ptc	smiten	smitten	smitn
	spitu	spite	spit	spit
	'veru'—i, e <i>Prompt.</i>			
	witan	†witenn	(to) wit	†te wit
	writen ptc	†writenn	written	ritn
	— writin <i>Ch.</i> (writn) <i>Bl.</i> (writn) <i>G.</i>			
	†citelian	tikelen	tickle	tikl
	— <i>Ch.</i> also kitelinge.			
615	†glitra	glit(t)eren	glitter	gliter
	glæterian <i>OE.</i>			
	†drit sn	drit	dirt	deet
	— (durt) <i>G.</i>			
	bite	†bite	bit	bit
	biten ptc	biten	bitten	bitn
	biter	†bitterr	bitter	biter
	t <i>WS.</i> t(t) <i>VP.</i> tt <i>Du., Ru.</i> —tt <i>Jul.</i> t <i>Kt.</i>			
	bitol	bit(t)il	beetle	bijtl
	'blatta'—also betil.			
620	†hitta	hitten	hit	hit
	'find'— <i>Lay.</i>			
	sittan	†sittenn	sit	sit
	— — — rg (set).			
	spittan	spitten	spit	spit

	gewitt	iwit	wit	wit
	fitt sf 'song.'	fit	fit	fit
625	hider	†hiderr	hither	†hiðer
	— hydder <i>Td.</i> (heðer) <i>Bt.</i> (hiðer) <i>G.</i> (e) <i>Mg.</i> almost short (e) <i>Ld.</i>			
	bed-rida	bedrede	bedridden	bedridn
	also -reda — bedreed <i>Ch.</i>			
	riden ptc	riden	ridden	ridn
	hlid sn	lid	lid	lid
	þider	†þiderr	thither	†ðiðer
	—thider <i>Ch.</i> —thyder, thether <i>Td.</i> almost short (e) <i>Ld.</i>			
630	sliden ptc	sliden	slid	slid
	widwe	†widdwe	widow	widou
	i, u <i>WS</i> —widewe <i>AR.</i> wydwe <i>Ch.</i> wodewe <i>Ay.</i>			
	hwider	hwider	whither	†whiðer
	i, y <i>lWS</i> —quider <i>North.</i> i <i>Kt.</i> <i>Ch.</i> u (o) <i>Lay.</i> u <i>AR</i> —(e) <i>Bll.</i> <i>Bt.</i>			
	cwidu	{ quide †cūde	quid cud	kwid kad
	hwitquidu <i>Ep.</i> , -cudu <i>Cp</i> —code (quide) <i>Wicl.</i> 'cud.'			
	gidig	gidi	giddy	gidi
	'insane.' i for y?			
635	biden ptc	—	bid(den)	bid(n)
	—bedenn 'commanded' <i>O.</i> beden (bode) <i>Wicl.</i>			
	þrida	†þrid(d)e	thrid	þeed
	þirda <i>Du.</i> —þrid <i>CM.</i> thred <i>PC.</i> þryde <i>MLP.</i> thriddle <i>Ch.</i> †thryd			
	thyrd <i>TM.</i> thred <i>Aud.</i> —thrid, thyrd <i>Td.</i>			
	middel	middel	middle	midl
	tō-middes	amiddes	(a)midst	(e)midst
	onmiddan—amidden, amide(s)—in the mydd(e)s of <i>Td.</i>			
	biddan	†bid(d)enn	bid	bid
	'pray.'			
640	bridd	†bridd	bird	beed
	birdas <i>Du.</i> —†brid <i>North.</i> , <i>Ch.</i> bred <i>Aud.</i> byrd : betyde <i>prt TM</i> —			
	brydd <i>Td.</i> (bird, burd) <i>G.</i>			
	slipor	sliper	slippery	sliperi
	scip sn	ship	ship	ʃip
	gripe	gripe	grip	grip
	lippa	lippe	lip	lip
645	†klippa	†clippenn	clip	klip
	ribb sn	rib(he)	rib	rib
	†libban	†libbenn	live	liv
	he leofaþ <i>WS, VP, Ru.</i> lyfaþ <i>lWS.</i> lifaþ <i>Du.</i> pl lif(i)gaþ <i>VP, Kt.</i>			
	<i>Du.</i> , <i>Ru.</i> —liuen <i>inf.</i> <i>Ld.</i> he lifeþþ <i>O.</i> leues <i>Aud.</i> —levith <i>Td.</i>			
	god-sibb	tsibb adj	gossip	gosip
	—gosaib (p) <i>Ch.</i>			

e (eo).

	tse	pe	the	ði, ðe
	se, pe <i>Da., Ru.</i>	pe by anal. of þone etc	— dde <i>HVg, Sb.</i>	(e) short <i>Ld.</i>
650	heorot — hart <i>Sb.</i>	hert	hart	haat
	swęrian — (sweor) <i>Cp.</i>	†swerenn (forseer) <i>Ja.</i>	swear (seer, sweer) <i>Ld.</i>	sweor (sweor) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>
	smęra smir(w)an rþ—smęrenn rþ <i>O.—(ii) Cp, Mg.</i>	smere	smear	smier
	soeran sęeran, y <i>WS</i> — — (ee) <i>Cp.</i>	sheren (šęirz) shears <i>Cp.</i>	shear	šier
	spere — (ee) <i>G.</i>	spere	spear	spier
655	węr sm †wer-mōd węrian 'wear clothes' — — (ee) <i>Cp.</i>	were wermod weren	wier wormwood wear	wier weemwud weor
	ferian 'carry'—feri 'ponto' sb <i>Prompt.</i>	ferien	ferry	feri
	męre sm 660 męre sf —mere, mare <i>Ch.</i>	mere mere	mere mare	†mier meer
	te(o)ru script(e)aro <i>Leechd.</i> —ter <i>GE.</i>	tere	tar	taar
	teran — (ee) <i>Cp.</i>	teren	tear	teor
	teorian eo, y <i>IWS.</i> eo <i>Ru.</i> —eo, i.	tiren	tire	taier
	peru	pere	pear	peer
665	bera — (baar) <i>Bil.</i> (ęe) <i>Mg.</i>	bere	bear	beor
	beran — (ee) <i>G.</i> (ęe) <i>Cp.</i> (ęe) <i>EO, Bch.</i>	†berenn	bear	beor
	steorra —steorne <i>O</i> from <i>EScand.</i> stjerna.	sterre	star	staar
	starnys: tharnys <i>TM</i> —starre <i>Td.</i>	sterne <i>North., AllP, †He, †RBC.</i> sterr <i>Ch.</i> (star) <i>G.</i>		
	feorr męrran —me(a)rren <i>Jul.</i>	†fe(o)rr marren	far mar	faar maar
	merre, mired <i>North.</i>	merre, mired <i>North.</i>	a <i>AllP, Aud., TM</i> —(a) <i>Sm.</i>	
670	ęerr	char	{ char } { ajar }	tfaar edgaar
	'turn,' 'time'—chearre, chere <i>Jul.</i>	cherre <i>AR.</i>	charre <i>inf:</i> waire (= war <i>adj</i>) <i>MH.</i> †charen <i>GE.</i> cayre, †charde <i>prt AllP.</i> <i>OI</i> keyra.	
	eorl —eorl, earl <i>Ld;</i> <i>infl. of Scand.</i>	†eorl	earl	eel
	iarl (†)—(eerl, erl) <i>G.</i> (eerl) <i>Cp.</i> (ee) <i>Ld</i>			

ceorl	†cherl	churl	tſeəl
—cheorl <i>Lay.</i> , <i>AR.</i>	†cherl <i>Ch.</i>	e, (u) <i>PPL.</i>	carl, chorl <i>ALLP.</i>
<i>OI</i> karl—(u) <i>BL.</i>			
cerlic	carloc	charlock	tſaalek
eorpe	†e(o)rpe	earth	eəp
—urpe <i>ALLP.</i>	erþliche, yerpe <i>Ay.</i>	—yerth <i>HVG.</i>	(erþ) <i>G.</i> (eerþ) <i>BL.</i>
(erþ), (jurþ) <i>barbare Cp.</i>	(jerþ) <i>pas du bel usage Mg.</i>	(æ) <i>Ld.</i>	
675 heorþ	herþ	hearth	haap
— — (e) <i>G.</i>	(æ) <i>Cp.</i>		
weorþ	†wurrþ	worth	wæp
weorþ <i>sb.</i>	u, y <i>LWS.</i>	o <i>Du.</i>	eo <i>Ru.</i>
adj	wierpe <i>WS.</i>	wyrpe <i>WS.</i>	wyrpe <i>Du.</i>
worþ	wyrpe <i>Du.</i>	wyrpe <i>Ru.</i>	wurpe <i>adj AR.</i>
worþ <i>sb.</i>	adj	Kt—(u) <i>BL.</i>	<i>G.</i> (penurþ) ‘pennyworth’ <i>Jn.</i>
(uu, v) <i>EO, Bch.</i>	Sh—(penēþ).		
weorþ-scipe	†wurrþshipe	worship	wæſip
—wur(ð)scipe <i>Ld.</i>	worſcip (i) <i>CM.</i>	wor(þ)ssipe <i>Ay.</i>	—(wurſip) <i>G.</i>
(v) <i>Bch.</i>	Sh.		
†giorþ	gerþ	girth	gæp
þerscan	†þreſshenn	{ thresh }	þræſ
		{ thrash }	
— — (e) <i>BL.</i>	(u) <i>barbare Cp.</i>		
680 þerscold	þreſhwold	threshold	þreſould, -æld
<i>Past.</i>	þreſwold, þræ-, þreo-, þerxwold	<i>later.</i>	
ferſc	freſh	fresh	freſ
merſc	merſh	marsh	maaf
— — (mæf) <i>Jn.</i>	<i>Ld.</i>		
berſtan	†breſſtenn	burst	bæeſt
—beorſtan <i>Ld.</i>	breſten + <i>North.</i> , <i>ALLP.</i>	† <i>Ch.</i>	from <i>Scand.</i> breſta, berſten
<i>AR.</i>	†bryſt, †breſt, †braſt <i>TM.</i>		
sweorfan	swerven	swerve	sweæv
‘file, rub off’ — —	(ſwerf, a) <i>G.</i>		
685 ſteorfan	ſterven	starve	ſtaav
‘die of peſtilence.’			
ceorfan	kervn	carve	kaav
cerfelle	chervelle	chervil	tſæevil
eornan	†e(o)rnnenn	run	ran
rinnan ‘coagulate.’	eornan <i>VP.</i>	<i>Du.</i>	ie, i e <i>WS.</i>
—eornen <i>AR.</i>	eornen, irnen, urnen <i>Lay.</i>	yernen <i>Ay.</i>	rin(ne) <i>North.</i>
†ryn <i>TM.</i>	renne(n) <i>Ld.</i>	† <i>Best.</i> , † <i>He.</i> , <i>ALLP.</i>	<i>Aud.</i> , † <i>Ch.</i> runnande
<i>MH</i> —runne <i>Td.</i>			
eorneſt	erneſt	earnest	æeniſt
— — (ee) <i>G.</i>	(ee) <i>Cp.</i>	(æ) <i>Ld.</i>	
690 leornian	†lernenn	learn	læen
— — (ee, e) <i>G.</i>	(ee) <i>Cp.</i>	(æ) <i>Ld.</i>	(læerniſ) <i>Bch.</i>
(vnlæernid) <i>Bch.</i>	(vnlærnd) <i>Fr.</i>	(vnlærnid) <i>Sh.</i>	unlearned—(laan) <i>eg.</i>
ſterne adj	†ſtirne	stern	ſteøn
ie, y <i>WS</i> —ſturne <i>RGL.</i>	ſt(i)erne <i>Ch.</i>		

- georn adj †ge(o)rnenn yearn jœen
 ginnan *vb*—geornen, iærnen *Ld.* yernen, yarnen *TM*—(jiirn) *EO.* (e) *Bch, Sh.*
- bœrn sn †berrne barn baan
 = bære-ærn 'barley-house,' berérn *Du.*—berne: yerne *Ch*—(baarn) *BL.*
- beornan intr } { †bœrnenn } burn bæen
 bærnan tr } { †brennenn }
- intr* beornan *VP, Du., Ru.* i(e) *eWS*; y *LWS*—eo *Lay., Marg.* birne *Hom.* brinnen *North., †Ch.* burne *TM.* The *trans. and intr forms* are confused in *ME.* *Infl. of OI* brinna *intr* and brœna *trans.*—burne, y, burnt, Brent *Td.* (u) *BL.*
trans. e *VP*—bernan, æ *Ld.* be(a)rnén *Jul.* brennen †*Hv, AllP, Ch.* brenne, brinne *North.*
- 695 beorma †berrme barm baam
 sme(a)rcian smirken smirk smeek
 weorc †werrk work week
w(e)orc LWS. were *VP, Du.* we(o)rc, wærc *Ru.*—we(o)rc *Ld.* were (o) *Lay.* were *Jul.* werk †*North., AllP, †Hv, †Ch, KS.* work *Ay.* wark *TM*—oo *Ck.* (u) *BL.* (uu, æ) *EO.* (æ) *Bch, Sh.*
- deorc derk dark daak
 —a, (o) *Jul.* a *Marg.* (dorck) *Lay.* (u) *PPl.* e *AllP.* †e, i *Ch.* a *Aud., TM.* also eo—a, e *Td.* e *Ck.* (a) *G.*
- beorcan berken bark baak
- 700 beorht †brihht bright brait
 —breht *eWS.* —bryht *LWS.* berht *VP, Du., Ru.* brehtum *Du., Rll.* —briht *Jul.* bricht *KS.* bright *North., Ch*—bricht *HVg.*
- hergian hergien harry †hæri
 —hærgien, her(i)gen *Lay.* herhien *Kath.* heri, hared *North.* haryen, harewen *Ch.*
- tærgan tarien tarry tæri
 'torment'—y *LWS*—terwin *Prompt.* terren 'provoke' *Wicl.* targi *KS.* †tarien *Ch.*
- dweorg dwergh dwarf dwof
 —also dwerwe, dwerf—(dwæorf) *Bch, Sh*—eg (dwof).
- beorg bergh barrow bærou
 'mountain'—berhge (borewe) *dat. Lay.*
- 705 ber(i)ge berge berry beri
 heorte †herrte heart haat
 —†herte *Ch.* hert *Aud.* hart : quart *TM*—herte *Td.* hart *Sb.* (æ) *Cp, Jn, EO.* (ææ) *Bch, Sh.*
- †þwert av †þwerrt thwart þwot
 —ouerthwart (—twert, —twart) *Ch*—(overþwart) *Bull.* (þert) *Jn.*
- smeortan smerten smart smaot
 heord sf heerde herd heed
 ——heard *Td.*
- 710 sweord †swerd sword soð
 eo, u *LWS.* o *Du.* eo *Ru.*—eo, e, (e) *Lay.* eo *AR.* †o *North., Ay.* e †*Hv,* †*RBC, †Ch*—sweard(e) *Td.* (swuurd, u) *Bl.* (sward) *Pr.* (suurd) *Cp.* (soord) *Ld.*

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| | gərd sf
'rod' — — yard <i>Td.</i> | †gerrde | yard | jaad |
| | stelan
— — (ee) <i>W.</i> | stelen | steal | stijl |
| | wel
— wele: fele rō <i>North.</i> wel: del (=dæl) <i>RBC.</i> we(e)l: deel, wheel, fel
<i>prt Ch.</i> | †wel(l) | well | wel |
| | wela
— — (ee) <i>Cp.</i> | wele | weal | †wijl |
| | wēlisc
wēlhisc <i>Kt ch as prop. name.</i>
— — (wolf) <i>Walsh.</i> | walsh | Welsh | welf |
| | | wylisc <i>lWS—PPl.</i> | wælsc, e (wals) <i>Lay.</i> | |
| 715 | weoloc
†felo-for
— <i>Ch.</i> fel(de)fare <i>Prompt.</i> — (feldfeer) <i>Cp.</i> (fiilfeer) <i>Jn.</i> | whelk
feldefare
(feldfeer) | whelk
fieldfare
(fiilfeer) | whelk
fjldfeer |
| | cēle
ie, y <i>WS—chylled prt AUP.</i> | †chēle | chill | †fīl |
| | †kjōl
<i>OE cēle—also u.</i> | kele | keel | kijl |
| | ēlles | elles | else | els |
| 720 | elle(r)n sn (?)
— eldyr, hyldyr, hillerne tree <i>Prompt.</i> | eller(ne) | elder(tree) | elder |
| | hēll sf | †helle | hell | hel |
| | sēllan
e <i>VP.</i> e, ea <i>Du.</i> e <i>eWS.</i> y <i>lWS—eo, u Lay.</i> u <i>Jul., AR.</i> e <i>Kt.</i>
i, e <i>Wicl.</i> | †sellenn | sell | sel |
| | swellan | swollen | swell | swel |
| | *smellan
hondsmēllas 'alapas' <i>Dw.</i> smyllendum (crepantibus) <i>BoGl—e, u, i.</i> | smellen | smell | smel |
| 725 | scēll sf | shelle | shell | fel |
| | spell sn
'story.' | spel | spell | spel |
| | wēlle | welle | well | wel |
| | fell
'skin.' | fel | fell | fel |
| | fēllan | fellen | fell | fel |
| 730 | cwēllan | †cwellenn | { quell
kill | kwel
kil |
| | 'kill'—cwellen <i>Lay., Jul.</i> cullen 'strike' <i>Lay., AR.</i> quelle <i>North.</i> culle
'kill' <i>PPl.</i> †quelle, †kille both 'kill' <i>Ch, TM—(mankweler) man-</i>
<i>queller 'homicida' Sm.</i> | | | |
| | gellan | gellen | yell | jel |
| | tēllan | †tellenn | tell | tel |
| | belle | †belle | bell | bel |
| | †dveļja | †dwellenn | dwell | dwel |
| 735 | melu
'farina.' <i>gen. melwes — — Sb implies (meel).</i> | †mēle | meal | mijl |

geolu	gelw(e)	yellow	jelou
— — (jælu) <i>Jn</i> —(jælu) <i>vg</i> .			
ælf	elf	{ elf oaf	elf +ouf
æ, e, y <i>IWS</i> ; also -elfen—†elf <i>Ch</i> —older spelling of oaf is aulf; <i>Ol</i> ælf. (oof, oof) auf, awf <i>Jn</i> .			
self	†self	self	self
y <i>IWS</i> . eo <i>VP</i> , <i>Du</i> . e(o), y <i>Ru</i> .—eo <i>Jud</i> . u <i>AR</i> . e(o), u, (i) <i>Lay</i> . e <i>Kt</i> , † <i>Ch</i> —selve, silfe <i>Td</i> .			
seolfor	†sillfer	silver	silver
eo <i>VP</i> . eo, io, silofr, sylofr <i>eWS</i> . sulfer <i>Du</i> . sylfur <i>Ru</i> .—silver, sylver <i>Ld</i> . eo <i>AR</i> . eo, u <i>Lay</i> . i <i>North</i> ., <i>AllP</i> , <i>GE</i> , <i>Ch</i> . <i>Scand</i> . silfr.			
740 seelf	shelfe	shelf	self
'pinnacle'— <i>Prompt</i> . shelves <i>pl Ch</i> .			
twelf	†twelf(e)	twelve	twelv
twelfe substantival—twelf, twelve, twælf <i>Ld</i> . twelf, eo, ea, æ, a <i>Lay</i> . tweolf, twelve <i>AR</i> . tuelf <i>Ay</i> .—(twelman) 'twelvemonth' <i>Bch</i> , <i>Sh</i> .			
delfan	†dellfenn	delve	†delv
twelfta	twelfte	twelfth	twelfþ
ēln sf	elne	ell	el
—also elle.			
745 elm	elm	elm	elm
helm	helm	helm(et)	helmit
— — helmet from <i>Dutch</i> (?)			
helma	helme	helm	helm
'clavus.'			
swele	†swille	such	satf
swilcæ <i>Ep</i> ., swelce <i>Cp</i> . swelce <i>VP</i> . e <i>eWS</i> . i, y <i>IWS</i> . e, æ <i>Du</i> . æ, i <i>Ru</i> .—sui(l)c <i>Ld</i> . swilk † <i>North</i> ., † <i>He</i> . swich <i>Kt</i> . swulc (soich), such (o) <i>Lay</i> . swuch <i>AR</i> . swich (such) <i>Ch</i> . sech, soch <i>Aud</i> . swilk, sich, such, †slyke [from <i>Scand</i> . slik] <i>TM</i> —syts <i>HVg</i> . (u) <i>G</i> .—(sitf) <i>vg</i> .			
hwele	†whille	which	whitf
e <i>Ep</i> ., <i>VP</i> , <i>eWS</i> . i, y <i>IWS</i> . e, æ <i>Du</i> . e, æ, i, y <i>Ru</i> .—quile <i>North</i> . hwulo(h) <i>Lay</i> . hwuo(h) <i>AR</i> . which <i>Kt</i> , <i>Ch</i> —(hwidz, hwitf) <i>Ld</i> .			
750 meol(o)c	†mille	milk	mjlk
mīlc <i>VP</i> , <i>Du</i> ., <i>Rit</i> .—e <i>Ay</i> . i <i>Lay</i> ., † <i>He</i> , † <i>Ch</i> —older (milk).			
geolca	golke	yolk	jouk
—also zelke—(jolk) <i>Mg</i> . (jook) <i>Cp</i> , <i>Sh</i> . (v) <i>Ld</i> . (jolk) <i>Bch</i> .			
belcettan	belken	belch	beltf
ea <i>Æfch</i> , i <i>Ru</i> ., y <i>Wgl</i> .— <i>Wicl</i> ., <i>TM</i> .			
seolh	sele	seal	sijl
<i>pl</i> seolas.			
†swelgan	†swollghenn	swallow	swolou
<i>prt</i> swalh, <i>pte</i> swolgen—swelghen <i>North</i> . zuelzen <i>Ay</i> . swelwin <i>Prompt</i> . swelwed (suahid) <i>RBC</i> . swalzen <i>Lay</i> . swoluwen <i>AR</i> . swolwen <i>Ch</i> — (swooloo) <i>Bch</i> . (swoloo) <i>Sh</i> .			
755 †wel(i)g	wilwe	willow	wilou
wilige 'basket'—also weloghe.			

fēlg	felwe	{ felly felloe	feli felou
bēlg	beli	{ bellows belly	belous bell
æ <i>Ep.</i> bel(i)g, byl(i)g <i>WS</i> —bely ‘belly’ <i>Prompt.</i> , <i>Ch.</i> often hali. beli(æ) ‘bellows’ <i>AR.</i> bely <i>Ch.</i> belu (belw, bely) <i>Wicl.</i> also belowes.			
belgan ‘be angry.’	belwen	bellow	belou
smelt	smelt	smelt	smelt
760 felt	felt	felt	felt
spelt	—	spelt	spelt
meltan	melten	melt	melt
belt	belt(e)	belt	belt
<i>OI</i> bēlti.			
ēldra cp	†elldre	elder	elder
765 ēldest spl	eldest	eldest	eldist
seldon	†seldenn	seldom	seldem
—selde <i>Lay.</i> , <i>AR</i> , <i>Ch.</i> seldum <i>GE.</i> seldom <i>PC</i> , <i>Prompt.</i> —(siildum) <i>Bl.</i>			
seeld	sheeld	shield	ſjild
ie, y <i>WS.</i> seildan vb; ie, y <i>WS</i> —e <i>AR</i> , <i>Ay.</i> e(e) <i>Ch.</i> e(i) <i>North.</i> also i; from vb! vb shildenn <i>O.</i> i <i>Lay</i> , <i>Ay</i> , <i>GE.</i> also u. e <i>TM</i> —(ii) <i>G.</i>			
geweldan	†weldenn	wield	†wījld
— — (ii) <i>G.</i> (ei) <i>Jn.</i>			
feld	†feld	field	fjild
—ee <i>Ch.</i> ey <i>TM</i> —(ii) <i>G.</i> , <i>Cp.</i>			
770 geldan	†geldenn	yield	jīld
ie, y <i>WS</i> —giald, gield (yald, yeild) <i>North.</i> ; <i>OI</i> gjalda. gild <i>And.</i> —eild (for ield i) <i>Hvg.</i> (jīild) <i>G.</i> (iild) <i>Ht</i> , <i>Jn.</i>			
helpan	†hellpenn	help	help
hwelp	†whe(o)llp	whelp	whelp
gelpan	†gellpenn	yelp	jelp
‘boast.’			
leþer	leþer	leather	leðer
— — (e) <i>G.</i>			
775 sweþian	sweþin	swathe	†sweið
— <i>Prompt.</i> also e.			
sweþel	sweþlen	swaddle	swodl
—also swaþild <i>ptc.</i> swedyllle: medyllle (= middel) <i>TM.</i>			
†steþi	stīþe	stithy	†stiði
—steþi <i>PC.</i> styth: smyth <i>Ch.</i>			
weþer	weþer	wether	weðer
‘sheep’—wedir <i>Prompt.</i>			
feþer sf	feþer(e)	feather	feðer
780 neþor	neþer	nether	†neðer
— — (neðer) <i>Jn.</i>			

	beneoþan	†bineþenn	beneath	binijþ
	— (biineð) <i>Bl.</i>	(bineþ) <i>G.</i> (bineeð) <i>Pr.</i>		
	be-cweþan	becweþen	bequeath	bikwijþ
	wes(u)le	wesele	weazel	wijzl
	besma	besme	besom	†bijzēm
	— (biisēm) <i>Mg.</i>			
785	pi(o)se <i>pl</i> piosan.	pese	pease	pijz
	cresse	cresse	cress	kres
	cerse, cærse <i>lWS</i> —kerse, †kers <i>Ch</i> — (krijsiz) <i>vg.</i>			
	re̥st sf	†resste	rest	rest
	— reest <i>Td.</i>			
	sweoster	†sussterr	sister	sister
	swostor <i>Or.</i> swustor, swyster <i>lWS.</i> s(w)oester <i>Du.</i> swuster, æ <i>Ru.</i> — s(w)uster <i>Ld.</i> suster (o) <i>Lay.</i> suster <i>AR.</i> zoster <i>Ay.</i> suster, †o <i>Ch.</i> sister <i>North., GE, TM, Prompt.</i> —u, y <i>Td.</i>			
	west	†wesst	west	west
	— weest <i>Td.</i>			
790	nest	nest	nest	nest
	ce̥st sf	cheste	chest	†fest
	ie, y <i>WS</i> —kiste <i>North., †He.</i> kyste <i>AllP; OI</i> kista. †cheste <i>Ch.</i>			
	gest	geest	yeast	ijst
	— (ii) <i>Sm.</i> (jiist, iist) <i>Jn.</i> (jest) <i>Bch.</i>			
	ge̥st	†gesst(hus)	guest	gest
	gesthus <i>VP, ÆfcH.</i> ie, y <i>WS.</i> e in <i>Æfc.</i> from <i>Scand.</i> ge̥st—gest <i>Ld.</i> gist (ea) <i>AR.</i> the g from <i>Scand.</i> —gest <i>Td.</i>			
	geostran-dæg	gisterdai	yesterday	jestedi
	ie, y <i>WS</i> —gurstendai (o), gerstendai <i>Lay.</i> —(isterdee) <i>Jn.</i>			
795	eowu sf	ewe	ewe	juw
	— (jeu) <i>Ht.</i> (ceu) <i>G.</i> (yy) <i>Bl.</i> (eu) <i>Bt, Pr.</i> (juu) <i>Ld.</i>			
	stre̥wian	†strawenn	strew	struw
	e <i>eWS.</i> eo <i>ÆfcH.</i> —strewen <i>North.</i> strowin <i>Prompt.</i> strawen, strewen <i>Ch.</i> —strawe <i>Td.</i> (eu) <i>Sm.</i> (oo) <i>G.</i>			
	efes sf	evese	eaves	ijvz
	— eouese <i>Lay.</i> ouese <i>Best.</i>			
	efen	†efenn	even	ijvn
	— (iivn) <i>G.</i> (iiven) <i>Pr.</i>			
	on efen	onefent	anent	†enent
	— onont <i>Jul.</i> also anent(is).			
800	efete	evete	newt	njuwt
	— later ewte—a newt from an ewt.			
	†he̥bban	†hefenn	heave	hijv
	<i>imper.</i> hefe.			
	he̥fig	†hefig	heavy	hevi
	— (ee) <i>G.</i>			
	heofon	†he(o)ffne	heaven	hevn
	heofone <i>fem. lWS; by anal. of eorpe</i> —hefn <i>HVg.</i> (e) <i>Bl.</i> (ee) <i>G.</i>			

- seofon †sefenn seven sevn
 — seaven *Ck.* (sevn) *G.*
- 805 wefan weven weave wijv
 fefer fevre fever fijver
 —also *fivre. from Fr fievre (?)*.
- cleofian cleven cleave kljv
 'adhere.' eo, i *WS.* eo *Ru.*—eo *Lay.* e *North., Wicl., Ay.* also i.
- gefan †gifenn (g) give giv
 gibaen *ptc Ep., e Cp.* ge(o)fan *VP, Du., Ru.* ie, y *WS*—giuen, iuen *Ld.*
 †gif *North.* zeouen *Jul.* zeuen *AR.* zeuen (i) *Lay.* yeuen *Kt.*
 geuen *ptc: dryuen ALLP.* †giuen *GE.* zyuen *Wicl.* †yiuen, yeuen
Ch—geve, foryeven *ptc Td.* (giv, giiv, gii) *G.* forgiv *Ck.*
- weft(a) weft weft weft
 810 hlence linke link linjk
 —k *from Scand.* hlenk (*OI hlekk*).
- stenc stench stench stenf
 wrencan wrenchen wrench renf
 frencise frensh French frenf
 cwencan †cwenknenn quench kwenf
 —quenchen *AR, Best.* kuenche, he kuenç *Ay.* prt cweinte *AR.* cwenchte
 (cwencte) *Jul.* *ptc queynt Ch.*
- 815 drencan drenchen drench drenf
 —dreynt *ptc Ch.*
- benc †bennk bench benf
 —also o bennche *O.* bynke *TM.*
- lencten †lenntenn Lent lent
 —lengt, lentedtid *Ld.* leinten (lenten) *AR.* †lente *Ch.*
- Engla-land engelond England inglænd
 —*Ch.* englaland, engleland *Ld.* ingland *CM.* yngland *TM*—(ingland) *G.*
 (inglænd) *Pr.* (ii, i) *Jn.*
- englisc †ennglissh English inglif
 —†inglis *North.* †inglis, inglysch *RBC.* engleis *GE.* englisse, englis
Ay.—(iinglish) *Bl.* (i) *G.* (ii) *Pr, Jn.*
- 820 †lengo lengþe length lenþ
 sengan sengen singe sing
 —seind *ptc Ch.*
- streng streng string strij
 —e, i *Ch.* i *Prompt.*—g *from Scand.* streng.
- *†veng winge wing winj
OI vāng—hwingen *pl Lay., AR.* wingen *Ay.*—wing *HVg.*
- †mengan mengen mingle mingl
 825 strengþo †strenncþe strength strenþ
 —strencþe (g) *AR.* also streinthe. strenthe *North.* strengthe *Ch.*
- †slóngva slingen sling slinj
 geong †gung young jarj
 gung, iung *VP.* giung *Du., Rit.* ging *Du.* ging, iung *Ru.*—iunge *Ld.*
 zung, zing, zeng *Lay.* zung *AR.* yong *Ay.* ging *CM.* yhung *PC.*

yunge : tunge <i>HR.</i> †ying, o, ou <i>TM.</i> †gyng, gonge : tonge <i>EBC.</i> †zyng, o, u <i>Harl.</i> gong <i>AllP.</i> gong : tung, e <i>And.</i> o, (e) <i>Ch—ywg HVg.</i>			
heonon(e)	henne(s)	hence	hens
heonone <i>lWS</i> —heonne [from heonone] (hinne) <i>Lay.</i> †hennes <i>EBC.</i> hence : pence <i>TM.</i> hennus <i>Wicl.</i> †henne <i>Ch</i> —(hins) <i>Mg.</i>			
hleonian	lenen	lean	lijn
830 weñian	wenen	wean	wijn
— (ee) <i>Sm.</i> (ee) <i>Cp.</i>			
cwene	cwene	quean	‡kwijn
— (ee) <i>Sm.</i> (e) <i>Ld.</i> (i) <i>Bch.</i> (ee) <i>SA.</i>			
geon	gon	yon	‡jon
geonian	genien	yawn	jon
geonian, gānian—geonien <i>AR.</i> ganynge, ganynge <i>Prompt.</i> also gonen.			
peñing	peni	penny	peni
pending in <i>Kt ch</i> —penig, penegas <i>Ld.</i> pl pans <i>Ay.</i> pens, pans <i>Wicl.</i> pens (pans, penys) <i>Ch.</i>			
835 heñn sf	hen(ne)	hen	hen
†reñnan	renlis	rennet	renit
'make to run, coagulate'—'coagulum' <i>Prompt.</i>			
weñn sf	wen(ne)	wen	wen
feñn	fen	fen	fen
menn pl	†menn	men	men
840 ‡keñna	kennen	ken sb	‡ken
'know'— <i>Lay.</i> kennenn 'beget' <i>O.</i>			
greñnian	grennen	grin	grin
deñn	den	den	den
'swine-pasture.'			
peñnan	pennen	pen	pen
Cent	kent	Kent	kent
845 twentig	†tweñntig	twenty	twenti
ende	†tende	end	end
—e, æ (ea) <i>Lay.</i> ee <i>Wicl.</i> —(lind) <i>barbare Cp.</i>			
end-lufon	en(d)leven	eleven	ilevn
endlefan <i>Or.</i> ællef- <i>Past.</i> ællefno <i>Du.</i> —enleven (eolleve), ælleven <i>Lay.</i> elevene <i>Ch</i> —(elevn) <i>G.</i> (eleven, ilæven) <i>Jn.</i>			
reñdan	renden	rend	rend
also hr- in <i>Du.</i>			
señdan	†senndenn	send	send
850 señd ptc	†sennd	sent	sent
—sent † <i>CM, PPl.</i>			
spendan	spenden	spend	spend
wendan	†wen(n)denn	wend	wend
be-geondan	†gonnd(hallf)	beyond	bijond
—g(e)ond; gend <i>Lay.</i> gionder (yonder) <i>CM.</i> bygonde : londe <i>AlP.</i> gund(e) <i>GE.</i> bigende <i>Wicl.</i> —(jender) <i>Jn.</i>			
bendan	benden	bend	bend
'bind,' 'bend.'			

- 855 **blēndan** †blendenn blend blend
 'blind'—forblendenn 'blind.' *conf. w. blandan* 'mix.'
eom †amm am æm
eam VP. eom, am(m) Du. eam, (n)æm, Ru.—(e)am Ld. am Jul., Lay., North., †GE, †RBC, Kt, Ch.
hemm hem hem hem
†stemma stemmen (?) stem stem
 'stop.'
stemn stem stem stem
 860 **lēmp(healt)** — limp limp
recenian rekenen reckon reken
recon 'remuneratio'—i AR. rekeni Ay. rek(e)ne Ch.
†leka leken leak lijck
OE hlec adj 'leaky.'
sprecen †spekenn speak spijk
specan IWS, IK. spr EfcH — (ee) G.
weoce weke wick wik
— eMn weeke.
 865 **†(v)reċ sn** wreċ wreck rek
 'anything driven on shore.' wreċ 'actuaris' *Ep., elsewhere* 'exile.'—
Prompt. wrak (werk) Ch.
wreċan wreken wreak †rek
†cwęce-sand — quicksand kwiksænd
 'quake-sand'—*cp quagmire, ME quikemire.*
gecel (is)ikel (ic)icle aisikl
brecan †breċenn break breik
*— (ee) G, Pr. (ii) Bch, Sh. (brekwæst) in some counties Jn; (brek-
 fist) Bch. (brekfæst) Sh—(brekfæst).*
 870 **reċcan** †reckenn reck(less) rek
*reċcan, prt rohte, took the place of *rēcan in OE; recceleas in Cp—recche
 ON. reche Best. †reke North. recchen, rekken Ch.*
streċcan streċchen stretch stretf
specca spekke speck spek
wrecca †wreċche wretch retf
 'exile'—*adj þæt wrece stede Ld. wrieċhid, wreċhid MH. wriedede KS.
 wrieċe TM—(retf) Ld.*
feċcan †fecċenn fetch fetf
prt fetode—†fette prt Ch. fetch, foche, †fott inf TM.
 875 **hnęcca** nekke neck nek
— nhicke Ay.
gemęcca sf †macche match mæt f
 'wife'—'wife.' meche : reche 'care' *Best. mecche RBC. macche Ch.*
blęċpa — blight blait
 'viuligo' *Ep.*
feoh †feh h, fe fee fj
—feoh (feo), fæi Lay. feih AR.
hlęhhan †lahhghenn laugh laaf
hlehað VP. hli(e)hhan Past.—lehzen, lihzen (lahze) Lay. lauhwen

- AR. *haggy* *Ag.*—(a)h, i, f, *Sm.* (a)h, i, f, *G.* (a)h, i, f, *Ja.* (i)h
HP. *h.* (a)h, i, f, *Ld.* *Ld.*
- 88p *sex* *twen(ten)* *six* *siks*
e *Da.* *Da.* *in, i* *Pa.*—*e*, *u* *Ld.* *e* *North.* *Do.*, +*RBC.* *i* *Lay.* *Jal.*
Ag. *Ch.*
- senia* *twentie* *sixth* *siksþ*
— *North.* *ARP.* *GE.* *also* *senia.* *sixte* *Ch.*—*sixte* *Td.* (six) *G.*
Do. (siksþ) *Ch.*
- reit* *twilht* *right* *rait*
e *VP.* *y* *e* *WE.* *i* *IWS.*—*right* *HP.* *Sm.*
- **þeit* *þiht* *tight* *taht*
Of *þeit*—*also* *tight*, *by* *inf.* *of* *þe*, *we.*
- **slait* *slit* *slight* *slait*
Of *slait*—*smooth*— (a) *Ld.*
- 88g *fechtan* *twilhten* *fight* *fait*
e *VP.* *North.*—*en*, *i* *Ld.* *ai*, *i*, *e* *Lay.* *e* *Jal.* *ARP.* *And.* *i* *AR.* *North.*,
GE. *RBC.* +*Ch.*—*feht* *Sm.* (ficht) *G.*
- reht* *twilht* *night* *nait*
e, *u* *Hp.* *e* *VP.* *Da.* *in, i* *Pa.* *i* *IWS.*—*also* *nait* *O.* *nait* *Ld.* *Lay.*
nait *Pa.* *twilht* *CM.* *ayt*, *twilht* *ARP.*
- meht* *twilht* *might* *maht*
e, *e* *North.* *e* *VP.* *Da.* *in, i* *Pa.* *i* *IWS.*—*also* *a* *O.* *meht* *CM.*
meht, *e* *PC.* *meht* (i) *Lay.* *maht* *AR.* *meht* *Ag.* *magt* *ARP.*
meht: *richt* *Hp.* *twilht* *GE.*
- cneht* *twilht* *knight* *nait*
e *CP.* *VP.* *en*, *in, i* *Pa.* *e*, *u* *Da.* *Da.*—*cneht* *Ld.* *Lay.* *AR.* *þknight*
North.—*kaicht* *HP.* (a) *Ld.*
- **ei* *tegg* *ay(e)* *tai*
'ever.' *OE* *ā(wa)*—*also* *a* *O.* *a*, *e* *Lay.* *a* *AR.* *ai*, *aa*: *sua*, *ever* *and* *a*
CM. *ai* *Do.* *oo*, *ai* *GE.* *ay* *Ch.*—(ei) *Sm.* (ei, ai, aai) *G.* (ai) *CP.*
- 89o *þege* *hegge* *hedge* *hedg*
also *hecg* (f), *hecc*— (edg) *Ja.*
- þlegan* *þleggenn* *lay* *lei*
imper. *hege*—*he* *lezzegþ*, *imper.* *legg* *O.* *leggen* *AR.* *lai*: *ai* *CM.* *þleye*
RBC. *legge*: *abegge* (= *byrgan*) *Ch.*—(lai, lee) *G.*
- **þeir* *þeegg* *they* *ðei*
OE *hie*, *þā*—*also* *þa* *O.* *þai* *North.* *þay* *ARP.* *þai* *And.* *they* *PPI.*
Ch.—*ddey*, *ddei* *HP.* (ei, eei, ai, aai, e) *G.* (ai) *Pr.* (ee) *Ld.*
- **þeggan* *þseggenn* *say* *sei*
imper. *sege*—*seggon*, *sagen*, *sein*, *sei* *inf.* *Ld.* *imper.* *segg* *O.* *siggen* (e)
AR. *seggen*, *siggen*, *suggen* *Lay.* *zigge* *Ag.* *sai* *North.* *seye* +*RBC.*
Ch.—*say*, *sae*, *se* *HP.* (sai, saai, se) *G.*
- segeþ* *seggþ* *saith, says* *sez, þsep*
— (sez) *CP.*
- 89g *weg* *þwegg(e)* *way* *wei*
— *wai* *North.*—*away*, *awae* *HP.* *waye* *Td.* (wai, waai, wee) *G.*
- wei-la-wei* *weilen* *wail* *weil*
Boetk. *wellawell* *Æfe* *gr.* *generally* *walawa.*
- **nei* *þnagg* *nay* *þnei*
nai, *nui* *Lay.* *nai* *AR.* *North.* *nay* *Ch.*—(nai) *Sm.*

- †dōyja †degenn die dai
—de(i)zen (deie) *Lay.* dei(z)en *AR.* deghe:aleghe *adj.* dighe *CM.*
die:lie *vb MH.* deye:felonye, deye:weye *RBC.* de:he, dy:I *TM.*
deze *Horl.* dyze:yze *ALLP.* dy:ryztwysly *Aud.* deien *PPL.* die
Wicl. dye:Emelye, deye:weye *Ch—(dei) Sm.*
- plegian pleien play plei
plega *sb.* æ *Cp.* Du. a *Cp.* Ru.—pleien *AR.* †play, †plawes *North.*
†plage *GE.* †plawen, †pleien *Hv.* †plei *Ch.*
- 900 leger leir lair leor
†peira †peggre their ðear
OE hi(o)ra—þair *North.* here *Ch—theirs Td.* (eei) *G.* (ee) *Jn.* (ee,ææ) *Ld.*
- eglan †ezglenn ail eil
†heil *adj.* †hegzlenn hail heil
—‘greet.’ hal (ai) beo þu! hail wurþ þu! hæ(i)l (hol), hailen *vb Lay.* heil
‘sanus’ *Prompt.* hayle! heyle! *Wicl.* hayl! *Ch.*
- seg(e)l seil sail seil
— — (ai) *G.*
- 905 snegl sneil snail sneil
†reisa †regzsenn raise reiz
†trōysta tristen trust trast
troust sn. trōust *adj—(tristen, e) Lay.* u *Jul.* truste: wuste *prt RGL.*
trosti Ay. traiste: Crist *CM.* triste *sb: Criste MH.* triste *prt, traist*
adj: frayst vb RBC. trast: hast, tryst: wyst *prt, u TM.* u *Aud.*
u, (i) *PPL.* tristen, o *vb, trist, o sb Wicl.* truste: ruste, triste: wiste,
(e) *Ch—trysti adj HVg.* (y) *Sb.*
- regen †regzn rain rein
—rein *AR.* ren *Ay.*—reynne, ay *Td.* (rain) *G.*
- gelegen pte †legenn lain lein
—ileien *AR—(ee) Cp—(leid) vg.*
- 910 begen þein thane †þein
†svein swain swain †swain
OE swān ‘herdsman’—swein ‘soldier’ *Ld.* ai, ei *Lay.* swayn *Ch.*
- blegen(e) sf blein(e) (chill)blain blein
†eimyrja sf eimeri embers embes
OE æmyrian *pl—Prompt.* also eimbre *Prompt.*
- †þeim †þegzm them ðem
him *OE; late heom—hem Ch—(ðem) G.* (æm) ‘em *Jn—weak (ðem), (æm).*
- 915 †steik sf steike steak steik
—*Prompt.—(ee) Sm.*
- †veik weak weak wijk
OE wāc—wac *O, Lay.* o *AR.* wa(y)k *North.* wook, wac: Isaac *G.*
wayke: layke *vb Hv.* wake: forsake *TM.* wayk, ey *Ch—(ee) G.*
- †sveigja sweien sway swei
‘bend.’
- †þeita sf beite bait beit
†beita †begzenn bait beit
‘graze,’ ‘hunt’—‘punish.’ baiten ‘feed’ *Ch.*

920	lęde prt	†leggđ pte	laid	leid
	lęde WS—leide, le(a)ide Lay. ei AR. laid North. †layde Ch—(ai) G.			
	bregdan	breiden	braid	broid
	ęcg	†egge	edge	edg
	†ęgg sn	egge	egg	eg
	OE ęg—ey Wicl., Ch. ey, egge Prompt.			
	†legg	leg	leg	leg
	—sconen (legges) Lay.			
925	sęcg	seg'ge)	sedge	sedg
	słęcg	slegge	sledge(hammer)	sledg
	węcg sm	wegge	wedge	wedg
	—wigge, e Prompt.			
	†dřęgg sf	dregges pl	dregs	dregz
	etan	†etenn	eat	ijt
	— — (ee) G.			
930	setl	setel	settle	setl
	fe(o)tor	feter	fetter	feter
	fretan	freten	fret	fret
	'devour.'			
	nętele	netle	nettle	netl
	męte	†męte	meat	mijt
	— — (ee) W.			
935	metan	meten	mete	†mijt
	cętel	chetel	kettle	ketl
	—chetil, k Prompt. OI kętil—rg (kitl).			
	get	†gęt	yet	jet
	e VP, Du., Ru. ie, i, y WS—get, iett, gęt Ld. get (i) Lay. get AR. AllP, Aud. †get GE. yet Ay. giet (yelt), gięte: itte CM. †yhitte PC. gitt, †yęte MH. git Wicl. gut, git PPl. yit TM—(i, e) Sm. (jyt) Mg. (it) Jn.			
	(be)getan	†bigetenn	get	get
	e, eo VP, Du., Ru. ie, i e WS. y l WS—beieton, bigetan Ld. gette North. bige(o)ten Lay.—(gjet) W. (git) Cp—rg (git).			
	be-getsen pte	†bigetenn	begotten	bigotn
	—bigeten Lay. beyete Ay. bygoten Wicl.			
940	teter	teter	tetter	teter
	bętera	†bętre	better	beter
	lęttan	†lęttenn	let	†let
	'hinder.'			
	sęttan	†settenn	set	set
	hwęttan	whetten	whet	whet
945	nętt	†nett	net	net
	bętat	†bettat	best	best
	stęde	†stęde	stead	sted
	also styde Du., Ru.—stude Jul. stud AllP. †stede, stide North. i, e Ch—(instead) G. (ii) Jn. (e) Mg. (instlid) Bch. (insted) Sh.			

	†stæþþig —stæþeli <i>Lay.</i> <i>infl.</i> of stæðfast 'firm in one's place.' <i>see</i> stæðe.	†stidig weder	steady weder	stedl weðer
	— — <i>e Ch.</i>			
950	medu —meeth : heeth (= hēþ), (mede) <i>Ch</i> ; <i>OI</i> mǫðþ.	mede onedan	mead knead	mijð nijð
	— — (nheed) <i>Cp.</i>			
	tredan gebed sn 'prayer.'	†tredenn †bēde	tread bead	tred blijð
	bedecian	beggen	beg	beg
955	hræddan 'rescue'— <i>arude imper. Jul.</i> <i>OI</i> ryþja 'clear away.'	†reddenn	rid	rid
	wędd 'agreement.'	†weddenn vb	wed	wed
	będd reopan <i>V.P.</i> rīpan <i>WS.</i>	†bedd repen	bed reap	bed rijp
	stęppan	steppen	step	step
960	ębba wębb nębb 'beak' — — (neb) 'rostrum' <i>Sm.</i> nib <i>quite mod.</i>	ebbe web neb	ebb web nib	eb web nib

U.

	duru duru, dor <i>Du.</i> —dure, o <i>Lay.</i> , <i>North.</i> u <i>GE</i> , <i>Ay.</i> o <i>Wicl.</i> , <i>Ch</i> —(uu) <i>Sm.</i> (oo, uu) <i>G.</i> (duuer) <i>sometimes Jn.</i> (door) <i>Ld</i> , <i>Bch</i> , <i>Sh.</i>	dure door	dor
	furþor —forþor <i>Du.</i> ; <i>anal.</i> of fore—furþer <i>Lay.</i> , <i>AR.</i> forþer <i>North.</i> forþer, o <i>Ch</i> ; farther <i>TM</i> ; <i>anal.</i> of feorr—(furþer, furder, farther) <i>G.</i> (ferder) <i>Cp.</i> (ferdir, færdir) <i>Bch.</i> (ferþor, færþer) <i>SA</i> —(feoder) <i>vg.</i>	†forþerr { further farther	feeþer faaþer
965	curs — — course vb <i>Td.</i> (u) <i>G.</i>	†currænn cursæ	kees
	†dorste durran <i>infl</i> —durste <i>Ld.</i> u (o) <i>Lay.</i> u † <i>North.</i> , <i>GE</i> , † <i>TM.</i> dyrste, i <i>RBC.</i> o (u) <i>Ch.</i> u by <i>infl.</i> of durran.	durste turf	deest teef
	—also torf.		
	scurf also scruf—also scorf, scrof.	scurf	skeof
	urnen ptc gerunnen 'coagulated'—runnen : sunne <i>AHP.</i> yronne : sonne <i>Ch.</i>	urnen run	ran

- 970 **spurnan** **spurnen** **spurn** **speen**
u, o *WS*—also *o*.
murnan **murnen** **mourn** **møn**
—*u AR, †North.* *u, (o) Lay.* *o Wick.* *oo (ou), morne : borne (= burne)*
Ch. ow TM—*mo(u)rne Td.* *(uu) Bl.* *(uu) W etc.* *(u) Jn.* *(oo) Ld.*
turnian **†turnenn** **turn** **tæen**
also *tyrnan*—also *ou, o, i, e*.
þurh **†þurh** { **through** **þruw**
thorough **þarə**
þur(h) *WS.* *o VP.* *e, o Du.* *u Ru.*—*þur(h), þurhe (prp) Ld.* *þurh,*
o Lay. *þurz (thoru) CM.* *þurz, þrych AllP.* *þorw(e) PPl.* *throz,*
thorz Aud. *through TM*—*thorow prp Td.* *thrweh prp Sb.* *(þrux) G.*
(þruuh) Bl. *(þuro) aut (proux) adv G.* *(þroo) prp Jn.*
furh sf **furh** **furrow** **farou**
—also *furwe, for(w)e*.
975 **bur(u)g sf** **†burrh** **borough** **barə**
—*burrghess pl O.* *buruh (burh) AR.*
turtle **†turtle** **turtle(dove)** **tætl**
†buli **†bule** **bull** **bul**
ODan. ; OI boli. — *(u) Mg, Jn, Ld.*
wull(e) sf **†wulle** **wool** **wul**
— *— woll Td.* *(wul) Pr.* *(wul) Cp.* *(wul), better (ul) Jn.*
full **†full** **full** **ful**
— *— fwl HVg.* *(u) Cp, Ld, Bch, Sh.* *(felsəm) fulsome Bch, Sh.*
980 **fullere** **fullere** **fuller** **fuler**
pullian **pullen** **pull** **pul**
— *— (u) Cp, Ld.*
bullue **bullok** **bullock** **bulek**
Scint.—also *bulluk*.
wulf **wulf** **wolf** **wulf**
— *w(u)lf, (o) Lay.*—*(u, v) Cp.* *(ulf) Jn.* *(wuulf) EO, Bch.* *(v) Ld.*
(u) Sh.
hule **hulke** **hulk** **halk**
'cottage,' 'ship'—Prompt.
985 **culter** **culter** **co(u)lter** **koulter**
—also *o—(ou) Cp.* *(kəulter) Bch.* *(koulter) Sh.*
†bulki **bolke** **bulk** **balk**
'ship's cargo'—Prompt.
sculdor sf(?) **†shuldre** **shoulder** **ƿoulder**
pl sculdru -a, gescyldru—sculdre (soldre) Lay. *ssoldren RGl.* *schylderes,*
schulder AllP. *shulder, o Ch.* *u TM—(ou) Cp.* *(oo) Ld.* *(əu) Bch.*
(oo) Sh.
þus **†þuss** **thus** **ðas**
muscle **muscle** **mussel** **masl**
990 **tusc** **tusc** **tusk** **task**
tuxas pl lWS—tosch Prompt. also *tusch*.
rust **rust** **rust** **rast**
n, by anal. of dūst (?)—also roust.

	lust	†lusst	{ lust listless	last listlis
	lystan rb—u <i>AR.</i> i <i>Lay.</i> <i>GE.</i> o <i>Ay.</i> ou <i>Aud.</i> u, †i <i>Ch.</i> <i>TM.</i> i from lystan.			
	must	must	must	mast
	'new wine'—u (o) <i>Lay.</i>			
	†gust	—	gust	gast
995	†bustla	bustelen	bustle	baal
	lufian	†lufenn }	love	lav
	lufu	†lufe }		
	— — lyf sb <i>HVg.</i> loov <i>Ck.</i> (uu) <i>Sm.</i> (u) <i>G.</i>			
	on-bufan	aboven	above	ebav
	cuffie	cuffe	cuff	kaf
	charter—also o.			
	suncen ptc	sunken	sunk	sank
1000	scruncen ptc	shrunken	shrunk	frank
	druncen ptc	†drunnkenn	drunk(en)	drank(en)
	druncnian	†drunnknenn	drown	draun
	—drunken <i>Wicl.</i> drowne : towne <i>TM.</i>			
	hungor	†hunngerr	hunger	hanger
	— — hongor, anhoungred <i>Td.</i>			
	hrung	rong	rung	raŋ
1005	lungen af	lunge	lung	laŋ
	sungen ptc	†sungenn	sung	saŋ
	†alunginn ptc	alungen	alung	alaŋ
	swungen ptc	swungen	swung	swaŋ
	stungen ptc	†stungenn	stung	staŋ
1010	sprungen ptc	†sprungenn	sprung	spraŋ
	wrunge ptc	wrunge	wrung	raŋ
	clungen ptc	†clungenn	clung	klaŋ
	tunge	†tunge	tongue	taŋ
	— — tonge <i>Td.</i>			
	dung	dung(e)	dung	daŋ
1015	hunig	†hunig	honey	hani
	— — (huni) <i>G.</i> (o) <i>Bch.</i> (e) <i>Sk.</i>			
	þunor	þunder	thunder	þander
	—thoner <i>Ps.</i> <i>TM.</i> þunder <i>GE.</i>			
	sunu	†sune	son	san
	— — synn <i>HVg.</i> (u) <i>Sm.</i> <i>G.</i> (o) <i>Bl.</i>			
	scunian	†ahunenn	shun	fan
	—scunien, sceonien (sonien) <i>Lay.</i> schones <i>Ps.</i>			
	stunian	stunien	stun	stan
	—also ou, o.			
1020	gewunod ptc	iwuned	wont	†wount
	— — (wunt) <i>G.</i> (o) <i>Bch.</i> (u) <i>Sk.</i>			

	munuc	mun(e)k	monk	manjk
	sunne	†sunne	sun	san
	— synn <i>HVg.</i>			
	spunnen ptc	spunnen	spun	span
	gewunnen ptc	iwunnen	won	wan
	— (u) <i>Sm.</i> (o) <i>Beh, Sh.</i>			
1025	nunne	nunne	nun	nan
	cunnan	†cunnenn	cunning	kanij
	— kwning <i>HVg.</i>			
	be-gunnen ptc	†bigunnenn	begun	bigan
	tunne	tunne	tun	tan
	dunn	dun	dun	dan
1030	huntian	huntien	hunt	hant
	stunt	†stunnt	stunted	stantid
	'stupid.' styntan 'blunt, stupify.'			
	punt	—	punt	pant
	under	†unnderr	under	ander
	hund	†hund	hound	haund
1035	hundred	†hunndredd	hundred	handrēd
	hund <i>WS</i> —hundred (u), hund <i>Lay.</i> hundret <i>Jul.</i> hundret(h) <i>North.</i>			
	—(hundred) <i>Cp etc.</i>			
	sund	sund	sound	saund
	'swimming.'			
	gesund adj	†sund	sound	saund
	sundor	sunder	sunder	sander
	wund sf	†wunde	wound	wuwnd
	—w(u)nde (wonde) <i>Lay.</i> o <i>North., Ay.</i> ou <i>Ch</i> —(ou) <i>Sm.</i> (uu) <i>G.</i>			
	(au) <i>Ld.</i> (ou) <i>Bu.</i> (uu) <i>Sh.</i>			
1040	wundor	†wunnderr	wonder	wander
	— (u, v) <i>Cp.</i>			
	wunden ptc	†wundenn	wound	waund
	funden ptc	†fundenn	found	faund
	grund	†grund	ground	graund
	—grundwall <i>O.</i> —(ou) <i>G.</i>			
	grunden ptc	grunden	ground	graund
1045	pund	pund	pound	paund
	bunden ptc	†bundenn	bound	baund
	sum	†summ	some	sam
	— = <i>ME pl.</i> synn (<i>for sym</i>) <i>HVg.</i>			
	sumor	sumer	summer	samer
	†sluma sm	slumeren	slumber	slamber
1050	genumen ptc	†numenn	numb	nam
	'taken.'			
	cuman	†cumenn	come	kam
	<i>pri cōm</i> —cōme <i>sbt O.</i> cūmm <i>inf Ld.</i> to com, cume : dōm <i>MH.</i> come : dōme <i>TM.</i> <i>OI sbt kvāma</i> —(u) <i>G.</i>			

	teŷmlic	oumelich	comely	kamli
	—comli <i>Prompt.</i> —(kumli) <i>G.</i>			
	cruma	torumme	crumb	kram
	swummen ptc	swummen	swum	swam
1055	crump adj	crumplen	crumple	krampl
	tumbian	tumb(1)en	tumble	tambl
	'dance.'			
	dumb	†dumb	dumb	dam
	—dom : bughsom <i>PC.</i> doumb (o) <i>Ch</i> —domm(e) <i>Td.</i> domb <i>Ch.</i>			
	pluccian	pluccien	pluck	plak
	buoca	†buce	buck	bak
	'hegoat'— <i>generally</i> bucke.			
1060	†dyhtig	†duhhtig	doughty	†dauti
	—duhti (o) <i>Lay.</i> dohty <i>Ch.</i> o, ou <i>TM.</i> anal. of dugan <i>inf.</i> and dohte <i>prt of deah</i> 'avails'—(dooti) <i>Jn.</i>			
	sugu	suwe	sow	sau
	—suwe <i>AR.</i> zoze <i>Ay.</i> sowe <i>Ch.</i>			
	fugol	fugel	fowl	faul
	'bird'—fugel, fogel (fowl) <i>Lay.</i> foghel <i>PC.</i> vogel <i>Ay.</i> fowel, foul <i>Ch.</i> fogl, u <i>OI</i> —(foul) <i>Sm.</i>			
	cugle	kuvele	cowl	kaul
	—cale (kovele) <i>Lay.</i> cowle <i>Prompt.</i>			
	†ugglig	ugli	ugly	agli
	'fearful.'			
1065	mucg-wyrt	mugwurt	mugwort	magweest
	hnutu	nute	nut	nat
	—nhote <i>Ay.</i> u <i>AR, North., GE.</i> o <i>Prompt.</i>			
	butere	but(t)ere	butter	bater
	gutt	gut	gut	gat
	buttuc	buttok	buttock	batek
	on þa buttucas boundary in chart.			
1070	rudig	rudi	ruddy	radi
	wudu	wude	wood	wud
	—wo(o)de <i>Ch</i> —woode <i>Td.</i> (w) <i>Pr.</i> (u) <i>Cp.</i> (wud), better (ud) <i>Jn.</i>			
	†eudele	—	cuttle(fish)	katlif
	— <i>Dutch</i> kuttelvisch.			
	uppan prp	†upponn	upon	epon
	up on 'up on'—uppon, uppen, up (uppe) <i>Lay.</i> ope <i>Ay.</i> apen : Johan <i>CM.</i> upon, opon <i>Harl.</i>			
	cuppe	†cuppe	cup	kap
	u, o—u <i>Ld.</i> o, †u <i>Ch</i> —(kebert) <i>Ld</i> ; (keþboord) <i>Bch</i> ; (kuberd) <i>Sh</i> cupboard—(kabed).			

Y.

1075	pyrelian	þirlen	thrill	þril
	'pierce.'			

styrian	†stirenn	stir	steer
wyrrest spl	†werrrat	worst	weest
y, ie, i Past. y Anglian. e Ikt—wur(e)st Jul. worst Ay., Wid. werst Ch. OI verst—(u) G. (uu, w) EO. (oo) Bch. (w) Sh.			
byrþen sf	birþen	burden	beedn
—u Lay., AR. u, i, e Wid. burden GE, Ch. birthen Best.—burthen, d Td. (burdn) BU. (berþen) Pr. (berden) Jn.			
myrþran	†mirrþrenn	murder	mæder
—murðren Lay. mordren (oe, morþeren) Ch. murder, o TM—mur- therere Td. (murðer, murder) G. (i) Ld.			
1080 wyrsa cp	†werr(s)e	worse	wees
i, ie, y Past. y VP, Or., Du., Ru. y IWS—unerse, warse Ld. wesi North. w(u)rsa (o) Lay. o Ay. e Ch. OI verri—(wurs) G.			
fyrz sm	firse	furze	fæz
—Wid. fyrris Prompt.			
þyrstan	†þirrstenn	thirst	þæst
þurst sb—þirst, þrist sb O. þurst (o) sb Lay. þarsten AR. þristen †North., †Best., Wid. thyrsten, thrusty adj TM. þurst sb Ch.			
fyrsta	†firrate	first	feest
—fyrst North. fyrst : brist rō : thrist TM. furst, forst Aud. verst Ay. first (e) Ch.			
†byrst sf	bristel	bristle	brisal
—brustles (i, y, e) Ch.			
1085 hyrnetu	—	hornet	honit
— — anal. of horn.			
cyrnel	kirnel	kernel	keenl
—also u, e.			
wyrm	†wurrm	worm	wæm
—o North., AUP, TM, Ch. u Lay., AR. i Best. wirm, wrim GE— (uu) RU. (u) G. (uu, w) EO. (w) Bch, Sh.			
†yrkja	irken	irk	oek
'work.'			
wyrcan	†wirrkenn	work	wæek
i, y VP. y, i Du., Ru. weorc sb—wirren Ld. †wirk North. werken GE. w(u)rcen (e, i) Lay. worchen AUP, Wid. werchen Ay. wirche : chirche (e), werken (worchen) Ch. infl. of weorc.			
1090 myrce	mirk(e)	mirky (u)	mæeki
—also e. k from Scand. myrk.			
wyrhta	†wrihhhte	wright	rait
—wurhte (wrohte) Lay. wurhte (wruhte) AR. wrighte Ch—wricht HVg.			
fyrhto	friht	fright	frait
fryhte Rit.—offruht adj Jul. frigt GE.			
wyrgan	wirwen	worry	wari
'strangle'—awurien AR. wirwin, worowen Prompt.—(u) EO. (w) Bch, Sh.			
myrg	mirie	merry	meri
myrgnis Cp—myry North., AUP. miri : biri (=byrig) GE. myry, e Aud. murie (i) Lay. merye : berye, murie : Mercurie, myrie : pyrie (=pear-tree) Ch. mery TM.			

- 1095 **myrgþ sf** **mirhþe** **mirth** **meeþ**
 —mur(h)ðe *Lay.* myrþe *AllP.* myrth *TM.* myrthe (u, e) *Ch.*—(e, i) *G.*
be-byrgan †birrgenn **bury** **beri**
 —burien *Lay.* birien *GE.* biryen, burien *Wicl.* u *Ch.* e *Ay., Aud.*—
 burie *Td.* (y) *Sb.*
byrgels **birieles** **burial** **beriel**
 —biri(g)ele(s) *GE.* biriel, burial *Wicl.* buriels *Ch.* berieles *Ay.*
þskyrta sf **schirte** **shirt** **þeet**
 —scurte (seorte) *Lay.* i, e *Wicl.* i *Prompt.* †e *Ch.*
wyrt sf **wurte** **wort** **weest**
 ‘herb’—wurte, o ‘wort.’ wurt, o, i, e ‘herb.’
 1100 **cyrtel** †kirttell **kirtle** **þkeetl**
 —u *Lay.* e *Ay.* i *Ch.*
hyrdel **hirdel** **hurdle** **heedl**
 —also u, e.
wyrd sf **wirde** **weird adj** **wied**
 ‘fate’—also u, e. werdes, ie *Ch.*
gyrdel(s) †girdell **girdle** **geedl**
 —also u, e—gerdell, gyrdle *Td.*
gebyrd †birde **birth** **teeþ**
 —burde (ð) *AR.* †birþe *North.* birðe *GE.* burth, y *Aud.* burthe *Ch.*
 also e.
 1105 **mylen sf** **milne** **mill** **mil**
 —mulne *AR.* milne *Wicl., TM.* melle *Ay.* †melle, i *Ch.*—(milnær)
 Milnær.
cylen sf **kilne** **kiln** **kiln**
 —also u—(kil) *Ld.*
pyle **pilwe** **pillow** **pilou**
hyll †hill **hill** **hil**
syll sf **sille** **sill** **sil**
 —also u. e *Ch.*
 1110 **fyllan** †fillenn **fill** **fil**
onyllan onullen **knell** **nel**
 —also y, i, e.
þbylgja — **billow** **þbilou**
gylt †gillt **guilt** **gilt**
 — (gwilt) *Jn.*
gyldan †gildenn **gild** **gild**
 1115 **byldan** bilden **build** **bild**
 bylda *sm Grein*—u, uy (i, ee) *Ch.* ey *TM.*—bylft *prt Td.* ij *Ch.*
 (yy, ii, i, ei) *G.* (i) *Cp.* (iu) *Jn.*
dysig **disi** **dizy** **disi**
 ‘foolish’—also u, e.
bysig **bisi** **busy** **bisi**
 —also u. bisy (e) *Ch.*—busy *Td.* busi *Sb.* (biznes) *G.* (bisi, biznes) *Ld.*
cyssan **kissen** **kiss** **kis**
 vb *cos.*

lynes	lins	linch	linf
— <i>lins</i> <i>lins</i> <i>lins</i> <i>lins</i>			
myne	menow	minnow	minou
— <i>myne</i> <i>myne</i> <i>myne</i> <i>myne</i>			
mynet	mint	mint	mint
— <i>myne</i> <i>myne</i> <i>myne</i> <i>myne</i>			
cyning	king	king	king
— <i>cyning</i> <i>cyning</i> <i>cyning</i> <i>cyning</i>			
dyne	dine	din	din
— <i>dyne</i> <i>dyne</i> <i>dyne</i> <i>dyne</i>			
bryne-stān	brimston	brimstone	brimsten
— <i>bryne-stān</i> <i>bryne-stān</i> <i>bryne-stān</i> <i>bryne-stān</i>			
pynne	pinne	thin	pin
— <i>pynne</i> <i>pynne</i> <i>pynne</i> <i>pynne</i>			
synn sf	sinne	sin	sin
— <i>synn</i> <i>synn</i> <i>synn</i> <i>synn</i>			
cynn	(mann)kinn	kin	kin
— <i>cynn</i> <i>cynn</i> <i>cynn</i> <i>cynn</i>			
mynster sn	minnstre	minster	minster
— <i>mynster</i> <i>mynster</i> <i>mynster</i> <i>mynster</i>			

	styntan 'blunt,' 'stupidify.'	†stinntenn	stint	stint
	dynt 'stroke'—†e <i>Ch.</i>	†dinnt	dint	dint
	gemynd sfn	†minde	mind	maind
	gecynd sf	†kinde	kind	kaind
	gecynde adj 'natural.'	kinde	kind	kaind
1145	tynder —i <i>Lay.</i> u † <i>Best., Prompt.</i> ; <i>OI</i> tundr. tendrin 'burn' intr <i>Jul.</i> ; anal. of ontēndan—(u) <i>barbare Cp.</i>	tinder	tinder	tinder
	tryndel also e, æ—(trwnl) <i>Jn.</i>	trendlen vb	trundle	trandl
	byndelle — <i>Prompt., Wicl.</i> ; anal. of gebunden.	bundel	bundle	bandl
	hymlic hymblicæ 'cicuta' <i>Ep.</i> , hymlice <i>Cp.</i> y, e <i>Leechd.</i> —humlock <i>Prompt.</i> also hemeluc.	humlok	hemlock	hemlok
	trymman 'confirm.' <i>pri</i> trymede—early and rare.	trumen	trim	trim
1150	brymme sm In <i>lWS</i> confused with brim 'ocean,' which was orig. neut.	brimme	brim	brim
	†myk sf	muk	muck	mak
	cycene —cuchene <i>Lay.</i> u <i>AR.</i> e <i>Ay.</i>	kichene	kitchen	kitfin
	bryce —u <i>AR.</i> also i. e <i>Kt.</i> or infl. of brecan.	breche	breach	brijtʃ
	cryce sf (?)	crucche	crutoh	kratʃ
1155	fyxen sf fixenhyð <i>Leechd.</i>	fixene	vixen	vixan
	flyht sm 'flying'—vluht <i>AR.</i>	fliht	flight	flait
	flyht sm 'fleeing'—fluht <i>AR.</i>	†flihht	flight	flait
	ryge —also ruze. reye: prey rē (rie) <i>Ch.</i>	rie	rye	rai
	hrycg —rug (rugge) <i>Lay.</i> rig: big adj <i>Hv.</i> reg <i>Ay.</i>	rig	ridge	ridg
1160	mycg	migge	midge	midg
	brycg sf —brugge <i>Lay.</i> brigge: Cantelbrigge, bregge: collegge <i>Ch.</i> —(bredg) <i>Sm.</i> (i) <i>G.</i> (e) <i>Jn.</i>	brigge	bridge	bridg
	scytel —also e.	schitel	shuttle	ʃatl
	scyttan —e <i>Ay.</i> , † <i>Ch.</i> often u. rarely i—schit <i>Ch.</i>	schetten	shut	ʃat

	gor sn 'dung.'	gcre	gore	goer
	toren ptc	toren	torn	ton
	— — toorn <i>Ck.</i> (tuurn) <i>EO.</i> (o) <i>Bch.</i> (oo) <i>Ld, Sh.</i>			
	boren ptc	†borenn	born(e)	bon
	— — (oo) 'natus,' (o) 'allatus' <i>Bl.</i> (o) <i>G</i> (without distinguishing 'borne'). (uu) 'bajulatus' <i>Cp.</i> (oo) 'porté' <i>Mg.</i> (o) 'parturitus' <i>Cp.</i> (oo) 'né' <i>Mg.</i> (oo) 'natus,' (oo) 'latus' <i>Ld.</i> (uu) <i>EO</i> ; (oo) <i>Sh</i> borne. (o) <i>Bch</i> ; (oo) <i>Sh</i> born.			
	borian	borien	bore	bor
1190	forþ	†forþþ	forth	fþþ
	— — (fuurþ) <i>G, Cp, EO.</i> (oo) <i>Ld, Bch, Sh.</i>			
	geforþian	iforþien	afford	efod
	'forward'—'perform.' later asforþen 'provide'—(afuurd) <i>Bl.</i>			
	norþ	†norþþ	north	nþþ
	morþor sn	morþer	murder	meeder
	morþ in <i>WS</i> prose. myrþran vb—morð (morþre) <i>Lay.</i> murther <i>North.</i> murthyr, morthier <i>Aud.</i> u from myrþran.			
	hors	†horrs	horse	hœs
	— — (o) <i>Sm.</i>			
1195	gorst	gorst	gorse	gœs
	borsten ptc	borsten	burst	beest
	— <i>Lay.</i> brosten <i>Ch</i> —u from prt pl burston—eg (bast).			
	horn	horn	horn	hœn
	— — (horned) <i>G.</i> (hœrn) <i>Cp.</i>			
	þorn	†þornn	thorn	þœn
	— — oo <i>Ck.</i> (oo) <i>Bl.</i>			
	corn	†corn	corn	kon
	— — coorne <i>Td.</i> (oo) <i>Bl.</i> (o) <i>G.</i> (o) <i>Bch.</i> (oo) <i>Sh.</i>			
1200	storm	storm	storm	stom
	forma	†formne	former	fomer
	—formere <i>Wicl.</i>			
	†fyrimest	formest	foremost	fœmest
	— <i>Lay.</i> also u, i. formast <i>CM.</i>			
	store	stork	stork	stœk
	forca	forke	fork	fœk
1205	geworht ptc	†wrohht	wrought	rot
	—wroht <i>Ld.</i> iwræht <i>Jul.</i> †wragte, †wrogt prt <i>AUP.</i> †wrogt <i>CM.</i> †wrogt <i>GE.</i> wro(u)ght <i>Ch</i> —wroght <i>Td.</i> (root) <i>Pr, Jn, EO.</i> (o) <i>Bch.</i> (oo) <i>Ld, Sh.</i>			
	sorg	†serrghe	sorrow	sorou
	soergendi <i>Ep.</i> —serrghenn vb <i>O.</i> sorge, seorwe, seorhful <i>Lay.</i> seoruwe (sorhe) <i>AR.</i> sorge <i>Ay.</i> soru <i>CM.</i> sorwe <i>Ch</i> —(soro, sorouu, sorouus) <i>G.</i>			
	morgen	morwe(n)	morrow	morou
	o <i>Ep.</i> a <i>VP.</i> o, e <i>WS.</i> o, on merne <i>Du.</i> o, æ, mergenne, marne <i>Ru.</i> —to morgen, a, æ (morwe) <i>Lay.</i> morgen <i>Ay.</i> morwe <i>Ch.</i>			
	*morgenung	morwening	morning	monij
	— — (oo) <i>Ld.</i>			

	borgian	borwen	borrow	borou
	— (boroou) <i>G.</i>	(boru) <i>Pr.</i>	(booroo, boroo) <i>Jn.</i>	
1210	ort-geard	orchard	orchard	otfed
	orc-, ort- <i>Past.</i>	orcgyrd, ordceard, orce(a)rd	<i>LWS</i> —orchærd <i>Lay.</i>	
	scort	†shorrt	short	ſot
	— (o) <i>G.</i>	(o) <i>Beh.</i>	(oo) <i>Sh.</i>	
	port	port	port	pøt
	— (oo) <i>Ld.</i>			
	or-dāl	ordal	ordeal	odijl
	ordel <i>Laws</i> — <i>Ch</i> — <i>infl.</i> of dāl.			
	hord	†hord	hoard	hod
	—hoord; word <i>Ch</i> —(uu) <i>Pr.</i>	(hærd) hord <i>EO.</i>	(oo) <i>Ld, Beh, Sh.</i>	
1215	word	†word	word	weed
	—o, eo, u <i>Lay.</i>	o, u <i>GE</i> —(uu, u) <i>Bt.</i>	(u, o) <i>G.</i>	(v) <i>Jn.</i>
	(v) <i>Ld, Beh, Sh.</i>			(uu, v) <i>EO.</i>
	ford	ford	ford	fød
	—also forþ—(uu) <i>Jn.</i>	(oo) <i>Ld, Sh.</i>	(o) <i>Beh.</i>	
	bord	†bord	board	bød
	—bord: word <i>Ch</i> —bourde <i>Td.</i>	(uu) <i>Bt.</i>	(oo) <i>G.</i>	
	†skorpna	†scorrenenn	scorch	skotf
	‘shrivel up’—also scorchen.			
	hol sn	hol(e)	hole	houl
	—hol <i>Lay.</i>	hole <i>Ch</i> —(oo) <i>Sm.</i>		
1220	hole(g)n	holi	holly	holi
	þol	þol(ie)	thole	þoul
	— <i>Prompt.</i> ‘clavicula.’			
	scolu	—	shoal	ſoul
	stolen pte	stolen	stolen	stouln
	fola	fole	foal	foul
1225	col sn	col(e)	coal	koul
	†dol	†dill	dull	dal
	‘foolish’—u <i>Kath., Prompt., Ch.</i>	i <i>TM.</i>	o rare.	OI dul ‘conceit.’
	†bol	bole	bole	†boul
	‘trunk of tree.’			
	swollen pte	swollen	swollen	swouln
	— (sooln) <i>Jn.</i>			
	enoll	knol	knoll	†noul
	— (nhoul) <i>Cp.</i>	(nool, neul) <i>EO.</i>	(nol) <i>Sh.</i>	
1230	toll	tol	toll	toul
	also toln — (ouu) <i>Sm.</i>	(oo, ou) <i>W.</i>	(oo, ou) <i>EO.</i>	(ou) <i>Beh.</i>
	(oo) <i>Sh.</i>			
	bolla	bolle	bowl	boul
	— (ouu) <i>G.</i>	(ou) <i>W.</i>	(ou) <i>Cp.</i>	(ouu) <i>Jn.</i>
		(ou) <i>EO.</i>	(ou) <i>Beh.</i>	(oo) <i>Sh.</i>
	bolster	bolster	bolster	boulster
	— (oo) <i>Ld.</i>			
	wolcen sn	welkne	welkin	†welkin
	‘cloud’—se wolcne <i>Ld.</i>	w(e)olcne <i>pt Lay.</i>	welkyn <i>AUP.</i>	walkne
	<i>GE.</i>	welkne <i>Ch.</i>		

- fole †folle folk †fouk
 — — (foolk, fook) *G.* (fook) *Jn.* (fok) *Bch.* (fook) *Sh.*
- 1235 holh sb holwe adj hollow holou
 'hole'—holh *adj Lay.* holou *Prompt.* holgh *TM.* holwe (holewh) *Ch.*
- folgian †follghenn follow folou
also fylgan—folh imper. O. folien, u (folgen) *Lay.* uolewen (folhen)
AR. folwen *Ch—*(folouu) *G.* (foluu) *Pr, Jn.* (fooloo, foloo) *com. Jn.*
- molten ptc molten molten †moultn
 colt sn colt colt koult
 — — (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*
- bolt, sn bolt bolt boult
 — — (oo) *Ld.*
- 1240 scolde †s(h)olde should †ud
 —scolde, u *Ld.* schulde (solde) *Lay.* schulde *AR, AllP, Wicl.* su(l)d
North. schuld *Aud.* o *RGl, Kt.* u *by infl. of pl pres sculon.* †o (u)
Ch. †o, u, a *TM.* s *weak; cp sceal—shulde Td.* (fau)ld *G.* (fou)ld
Pr. (fau)ld *Cp.* (fuud) *Jn, Bch.* (fau)ld, f(u)ld, u) *Ld.* (fud) *Sh.*
- wolde †wollde would wud
 a *VP, Du.* o, a *Ru.*—o, a, (o) *Lay.* o, (a) *AR.* †wald, i *North.* u, o
GE. wolde: were fulde 'filled' *He.* u *Best.* †i, a, wolde: holde *RBC.*
 o *Ch—*wowld, wld *HVG.* wold(e) *Td.* (wu)ld *Bl.* (would) *Pr.*
 (wu)ld *Cp.* (wu)ld *Jn.* (widst, w(u)ldst) *barbare Cp; (wu)ldst Jn.*
 wouldst. (wu)ld, w(u)ld, u) *Ld.* (wu)ld *Bch.* (u)ld *Pr.* (wud) *Sh.*
- molde molde mould mould
 — — (oo) *Ld.*
- gold †gold gold Gould
 — — gold(e) *Td.* (go)uld *G.* (oo, ou) *W.* (ou) *Pr.* (uu) *Jn.* (uu)
Bu., Sh. (gu)lsmip) *Jn.*
- †froþa froþe froth frōþ
 — — (froþ) *G.*
- 1245 broþ sn broþ broth brōþ
 — — (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*
- mōþþe mōþ(p)e moth mōþ
 mōþa *Du., Ru.*—mouþþe, mouzþe *Wicl.*
- hose hose hose houz
 rose rose rose rouz
 gelosod ilosed lost lost
 — — (oo) *Cp.* (o) *Bch, Sh.*
- 1250 nosu nose nose nouz
 —nose (o) *Lay.* nese *North., †TM.* †nose, e *Best.* nase *Kt.*
- næs-þýrel noseþirl nostril nostril
 nosþýrla, uteward nosterle late—noseþirl (-þýrl) *Ch.* neseþirl *Prompt.*
- †mosi mos moss mos
OE mōos.
- drosne dros(e)ne dross dros
 'lees.'
- †kross sn cros cross krōs
 —*Lay.*

1255	frost	†frosset	frost	frost
	— (o) <i>G.</i> (oo) <i>Cp.</i> (o) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
	post	post	post	poust
	— (uu) <i>EO.</i> (o) <i>Bch.</i> (oo) <i>Sh.</i>			
	*tow	tow	tow	tou
	towlic weorc 'textrinum' <i>Wgl.</i>			
	of	†off(e)	{ of, o' off	ov, e(v) of
	<i>prp and adv</i> —offe <i>adv O.</i> of (o) <i>prp CM</i> —off <i>prp HVg.</i> of <i>adv Td.</i> (ov, of) <i>prp G.</i> (of) <i>prp W.</i> (o) <i>prp Ld.</i> (ov) <i>prp Bch, Sh.</i> (of) <i>adv Sh.</i>			
	ofer	†oferr, ofrr	over	ouver
	— (o) <i>Bl, G.</i> (oor) <i>Jn.</i>			
1260	ofen sm	†offne	oven	avn
	—elsewhere oven.			
	*hofel	hovel	hovel	hovl
	— (hevel) <i>EO.</i> (hovl) <i>Bch.</i> (hovil) <i>Sh.</i>			
	scofel sf	schovele	shovel	javl
	— (juul) <i>Bl.</i> (jaul) <i>Jn.</i>			
	†scofettan	schoven	shove	jav
	stofe	—	stove	stouv
	stofa 'balneum' <i>Cp</i> —from Dutch stove (?).			
1265	†gewefen ptc	weven	woven	wouv
	cofa	cove	cove	kouv
	'chamber'— <i>CM.</i>			
	clofu	clove	clove	klouv
	cluf, clof.			
	clofen ptc	†clofenn	cloven	klouv
	foxes-glofa	foxesglove	foxglove	foxglav
1270	*of-fall	offal	offal	ofi
	<i>OI</i> offall 'diminution' — (ofal) <i>G.</i>			
	oft	†offte	often	ofn
	—often <i>GE.</i> †ofte, often <i>Ch</i> —(often) <i>G.</i> (oofn) <i>Ld.</i>			
	†loft sn	†lofft adv	loft	loft
	'air.' ā loft 'up.' <i>OE</i> lyft—lift 'air' <i>O.</i> loft 'solarium' <i>Prompt.</i>			
	croft	croft	croft	†kroft
	on	†onn(e), o	on	on
	—on, o ðe <i>Ld.</i> o(n) <i>Jul., Ch.</i> ane <i>Kl.</i> <i>OI</i> ā.			
1275	þonne	†þan(n)e	then	ðen
	o, a <i>Ru.</i> æ <i>IWS</i> —þanne <i>Ld.</i> þonne, e, (a), þane, þon <i>Lay.</i> þeonne (e) <i>AR.</i> þanne <i>Kl.</i> †þan <i>North.</i> ðan(ne) <i>GE.</i> þenne <i>AllP.</i> †then <i>Aud.</i> thanne, †than, †thenne <i>Ch</i> —dden <i>HVg.</i> then <i>Td.</i>			
	þonne	†þan(n)	than	ðen
	ðon <i>VP.</i> ðon(ne) <i>Du.</i> o, a <i>Ru.</i> —þan(ne) <i>Ld.</i> þan(n)e, þen(n)e <i>Lay.</i> þen(n)e, þen <i>AR.</i> þan(n)e <i>Kl.</i> þan <i>North.</i> ðan(ne), ðane <i>GE.</i> þen <i>AllP.</i> then <i>Aud.</i> than <i>Ch</i> —e <i>Td.</i> (e) <i>G.</i>			

	hwonne	†whann(e)	when	when
	huo(e)nne, hoenne <i>Dw.</i> o, a, æ <i>Ru.</i> æ <i>lWS</i> —w(h)onne, whænne, w(h)enne (wane, wan) <i>Lay.</i> hwon(ne) (hwen) <i>AR.</i> huanne <i>Ay.</i> quen, whan <i>North.</i> quan(u)e, quan <i>GE.</i> †whenne <i>RBC.</i> quen <i>ALP.</i> when, whan <i>Awd.</i> whan, (e) <i>Ch</i> —(wen) better (when) <i>Jn.</i> (i) <i>Mg.</i>			
	loc sn	lok	lock	lok
	socian	sokyn	soak	souk
1280	smocian	smokien	smoke	smouk
	— (oo) <i>Sm.</i> (it smuiks) <i>Sm</i> (= smēoceþ).			
	†gesprečen ptc	spoken	spoken	spoukn
	—spēken rare.			
	ceocian	choken	choke	tfouk
	—also chekin.			
	cnocian	knok(k)en	knock	nok
	u, o <i>WS.</i>			
	geoc sn	†gocce	yoke	jouk
1285	†poki	poke	poke	†pouk
	'bag,' <i>OE</i> polha.			
	brocen ptc	broken	broken	broukn
	hocc	hoc	(holly)hook	holihok
	rocc	rokke	rock	rok
	stanrocca (scopulorum) <i>Aldhgl</i> —also roche, <i>fr Fr.</i>			
	locc	lok	lock	lok
	'lock of hair.'			
1290	socc	sok	sock	sok
	smoc	smok	smock	smok
	stocc	stok	stock	stok
	flocc	†flocc	flock	flok
	cocc	cock	cock	kok
1295	coccel	cockkel	(corn)cockle	kokl
	crocca	crokke	crook(ery)	krokeri
	cloccian	clokkin	cluck	klak
	seo wamb cloceþ <i>Leechd.</i>			
	docce	dokke	dock	dok
	poccas pl	pokkes	pox	poſks
1300	cohhetan	co(u)ghen	cough	kof
	— (koouh) <i>Sm.</i> (kof) <i>W.</i> (kcof) <i>Mg, Ld.</i> (kof) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
	oxa	†oxe	ox	oks
	fox	†fox	fox	foks
	box	box	box	boks
	'box,' 'box-tree.'			
	dohtor	†dohhterr	daughter	doter
	—dohter, douter <i>Lay.</i> douhter (dohter) <i>AR.</i> doxter <i>Ay.</i> doghter <i>North., TM.</i> doughter <i>Ch.</i> also au.—do(u)ghter <i>Td.</i> (dooxter) <i>G.</i> (dafter) sometimes <i>Bt.</i> (doofter) <i>occ. Jn.</i> (ææ) <i>Ld</i> — <i>eg</i> (daater).			

1305	bohte prt	†bohhte	bought	bot
	—boughte <i>Ch</i> —(bort, booux) <i>G.</i>		(boot) <i>Cp.</i>	(boot, boot, boft) <i>Jn.</i>
	(o) <i>Bch.</i> (oo) <i>Ld, Sh.</i>			
	þhrogn sn pl	roun	roe	rou
	flogen ptc	flowen	flown	floun
	— (oou) <i>G.</i>			
	togian	{ togen toggen }	tug	tag
	*wan-togen ptc	wantowen	wanton	wonten
	— wantones <i>Td.</i> (woonten) <i>Bch.</i> (wonten) <i>Sh.</i>			
1310	trog	tro(u)gh	trough	trof
	—trou(gh) <i>Prompt.</i> —(trof) <i>W.</i>	(troo) <i>Jn.</i>	(troof) <i>Ld.</i>	(trof) <i>EO,</i>
	<i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
	boga	bowe	bow	bou
	— bo <i>HVg, Sb.</i> rayneboll <i>Td.</i>	(boou) <i>Sm, G.</i>	(boo) <i>Cp, Ld.</i>	
	frogga	frogge	frog	frog
	<i>late; always gg.</i>			
	dooga	dogge	dog	dog
	<i>Bogl.</i>			
	otor	oter	otter	oter
1315	rotian	†rotenn	rot	rot
	hlot sn	†lott	lot	lot
	þrote	þrote	throat	þrout
	gesnot	snot	snot	snot
	scoten ptc	shoten	shot	ʃot
	gescot sn	shote	shot	ʃot
1320	flot	o flote	(a)float	flout
	on flot, 'afloat.'			
	flotian	flotien	float	flout
	<i>very late.</i>			
	floterian	floteren	flutter	flater
	mot sn	mot	mote	mout
	cot sn	cot	cot	kot
1325	grot sn	grot	groat	†grout
	'fragment' — (oo) <i>EO, Ld.</i>			
	†potian	†buttenn	but	bat
	<i>Æfch</i> —also pu(t)en, poten. <i>Fr</i> boter.			
	botm	botme	bottom	botem
	—also bopem.			
	splott	sp(1)ot	spot	spot
	clott-	clotte	clot	klot
	'massa.'			
1330	cnotta	knotte	knot	not
	— (nhot) <i>Ld.</i>			
	dott	—	dot	dot
	'head of boil' <i>Leechd.</i>			

	plot	{ plot(t) blot	plot blot	plot blot
	ne plot ne ploħ <i>Leechd.</i>			
	soden ptc	soden	sodden(ed)	sodn(d)
	god	†godd	god	god
	—gen. Goddess <i>Ch.</i>			
1335	god-spell	†goddspell	gospel	gospl
	—gospel <i>AR, Ch.</i>			
	troden ptc	troden	trodden	trodn
	bodian	bodien	bode	boud
	bodig	†bodig	body	bodi
	†oddi	odde adj	odd	od
	'triangle,' 'odd number.'			
1340	codd	cod	cod	kod
	open	†openn	open	oupn
	hopa	hope	hope	houp
	copor	coper	copper	coper
	dropa	drope	drop	drop
	—droppen vb <i>North. etc.</i>			
1345	popig	popi	poppy	popi
	hoppian	hoppen	hop	hop
	loppestre	lopster(e)	lobster	lobster
	soppian	soppe sb	sop	sop
	stoppian	stoppen	stop	stop
1350	strop	—	{ (razor)strop strap	strop stræp
	vel arwiþþe (struppus) <i>Wgl.</i>			
	ättor-coppe	coppe	cob(web)	kobweb
	'spider.'			
	cropp	crop	crop	krop
	'cluster.'			
	†kroppa	croppen	crop	krop
	'pick,' 'graze'— <i>AR.</i>			
	topp	top	top	top
	'summit,' 'top' (=plaything).			

ä.

1355	rä sf	ro	roe	rou
	†prä	pro	throe	prou
	'struggle,' 'obstinacy.'			
	slä sf	alo	aloe	alou
	swä	†swa	so	sou
	e <i>VP.</i> a, æ <i>WS, Du., Ru.</i> —swa <i>Ld.</i> wha-se etc <i>O.</i> s(w)a, æ (so)			

	<i>Lay.</i>	<i>swa, so Jul.</i>	<i>s(w)o Et.</i>	<i>s(w)a CM.</i>	<i>swa, so PC.</i>	<i>s(w)o Best.</i>	<i>so AllP, Ch—so HVg.</i>
	wā	†wa	woe	†wou			
	—woa <wo> <i>Lay.</i>	wumme (=wā mē) <i>Jsl.</i>					
1360	hwā	†wha	who	huw			
	—hwoa (hwa) <i>AR.</i>	qua <i>North.</i>	quo <i>GE.</i>	wo <i>Best.</i>	(w)ho <i>RBC, PPl.</i>		
	huo <i>Ay.</i>	who <i>Ch—hw HVg.</i>	(whuu) <i>Bl, G, Pr.</i>	(huu) <i>Cp, Jn.</i>			
	fā	fo	foe	†fou			
	†frā	†fra	fro	frou			
	—fra <i>prp Ld.</i>						
	nā	†na	no	nou			
	no <i>VP, Du., Ru.</i>	no, na <i>eWS.</i>	na <i>lWS—na Ld.</i>	na, neo, nea, no <i>Lay.</i>			
	no <i>Jul.</i>	no, noa <i>AR.</i>	nummore (=nā māre) <i>Best.</i>	no <i>Wicl.</i>	nathelea		
	(=nā py lāre) <i>Ch.</i>						
	gān	†gan	go	gou			
	also <i>gangan—also ganngenn O.</i>	gan, gon, g(e)ongen <i>Lay.—(go) G.</i>					
	(goo, guu) <i>W.</i>						
1365	tā sf	to	toe	tou			
	twā	†twa	two	tuw			
	<i>neut. and fem.—twa men Ld.</i>	t(w)o <i>GE.</i>	to (tuo) <i>RBC.</i>	<i>to Prompt.</i>			
	(twuu) <i>Bl.</i>	(tuu) <i>G etc, Cp.</i>	(twins) <i>Mg;</i>	(twens) <i>Jn;</i>	(twippins) <i>Hch;</i>	(twens) <i>Sh</i>	twopence—(twens).
	dā sf	do	doe	dou			
	ār sf	ore	oar	or			
	hār	hor	hoar	hər			
1370	hāre-hūne	horehune	{ hore hoar }	hound	hor(h)sund		
	rārian	roren	roar	rər			
	lār sf	†lare	lore	lər			
	sār	sor	sore	sər			
	sārig	†sarig	sorry	sori			
	a, o <i>Past—sari, æ (o) Lay.</i>	seri, o <i>GE.</i>	soory <i>Ch.</i>	o <i>from sorg.</i>			
1375	māre	†mare	more	mər			
	—oa <i>AR—oa Td.</i>	(oo) <i>Sm, G.</i>	(moor) <i>EO.</i>	(moor) <i>Sh.</i>			
	gāra	gore	gore	gər			
	'corner' etc.						
	gār-lēac	garleek	garlick	gaalik			
	bār	bor	boar	bər			
	— (buur) <i>Cp.</i>						
	hāl	†hal	{ whole hale }	houl heil			
	—†hale <i>Ch;</i>	<i>from North.—holsome, whole Td.</i>	hoole <i>Ch.</i>	(whool) <i>Bull, G.</i>	(hoolsum) <i>wholesome G.</i>	(haal) <i>hale G.</i>	(hool) <i>W., Jn.</i>
	(hool, whool),	(holi) <i>wholly Ld.</i>	(whool) <i>Bch, Fr.</i>	(hool) <i>Sh.</i>			
1380	hālig	†halig	holy	houli			
	—pl <i>hallghe O.</i>						

- hālig dæg halidai holiday holdi
 —haliday (o) *Ch.* haleday *Awd.*
 hālgian †hallghenn hallow hælou
 māl mol mole moult
 'mark,' 'stain.'
 gedāl an †dale dole doul
 †gedāl 'distributio'—dole *fem. in Lay.* idol 'separation.'
 1385 pāl pol pole poul
 āp †ap oath oup
 lāp †lap loath †loup
 — (loþ) *Bl.* (loþsum) loathsome *G.* (loþ) *Ld.* (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*
 lāpian lopien loathe louð
 — (looð) *Bl.* *Ld.* (oo) *Bch.* *Sh.*
 wrāp wrap wroth †rop
 —oo *Wicl.*, *Ch.*—oo *Td.* (o) *BU.* (oo) *G.*—(o) *from wrath abst.*
 1390 clāp †clap cloth kloþ
 — (o) *G.* (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*
 clāpas pl †clapess clothes klou(ð)s
 —†close *pl TM*—(klooðed) *ptc G.* (klooz) *Bch.* *Sh.*
 †bāþir †baþe both bouþ
 OE bā, bāgen, bātwa—baðe, beien *Ld.* also ba, bezenn *O.* b(e)ðe,
 botwo *AR*—booth *Ck.* (boþ) *G.*
 hās hos hoarse hos
 —hoos, hors *Prompt.*, *Wicl.*—(hoors) *Sm*—the (r) *is imitative, as in*
Dutch heersch.
 †rās ras race reis
 OE rās—æ, e, ea, e *Lay.* ras *North.*—a *from North.*
 1395 ā-rās †rás (a)rose (e)rous
 pās pl þos those ðous
 'these'—þa 'those,' þise 'these' *O.*
 †māse mose (tit)mouse titmaus
 āscian †asakenn ask aask
 æ, h̄s, x *WS.* h̄s, xs, æ *Ru.*—axen *Ld.* axien, æ *Lay.* askien, axien
 (easkien) *AR.* esse, prt eeste *RGL.* aishest *ON.* askede *KS.* oksi,
 aksi *Ay.* aske †*North.*, *GE.* *Awd.* †axe (sk) *Ch.*—aiah *HVg.* axe *Td.*
 ask et aks *Sm.* (æ) *Bch.* *Sh.*—vg (æx).
 lāst last last laast
 also æ. 'track'—also e.
 1400 gāst †gast ghost goust
 — (oo) *Cp.* (goosli) 'ghostly' *Jn.* (uu) *EO.* (oo) *Bch.* *Sh.*

ā.

- ā-wiht †ohht aught †ot
 owiht *Ru.* awiht, auht, aht *WS*—also awiht *O.* a(wi)ht, oht *Lay.*
 owiht, out *Æ.* †oght *North.*, *TM.* ogt *AHP.* agt *RGL.* *Ay.* aught,
 ought *Ch.*

	rāw sf	rowe	row	rou
	a, æ—ea, e, (a), <i>AR.</i> †raw <i>North.</i> rawe:owe <i>sb AllP.</i> o <i>Prompt.</i> †e <i>Ch.</i>			
	lāwerce	larke	lark	laak
	— <i>Ch.</i> laueroc <i>Harl.</i> laverok <i>Gower.</i>			
	pāwan	thowin	thaw	po
	— <i>Prompt.</i> —aw <i>Kl</i> (†).			
1405	prāwan	prowen	throw	prou
	‘twist’—prawe <i>Ay.</i>			
	sāwan	†sawenn	sow	sou
	—zawe <i>Ay.</i> —(soou) <i>G.</i>			
	sāwol sf	†sawle	soul	soul
	—zaule <i>Ay.</i> —so(w)l <i>HVg.</i> (oou) <i>G.</i> (ou, oo) <i>W.</i> (oo) <i>Pr.</i> (ou) <i>Cp.</i> (oou) <i>Jn.</i> (oo) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
	slāw	†sław	slow	slou
	— — slo <i>HVg.</i>			
	snāw	snou	snow	snou
	—snaw <i>Ay.</i>			
1410	nā-wiht	†nawihht	naught	not
	nō-wiht	†nohht	not	not
	no(wi)ht <i>VP.</i> na(wu)ht, noht <i>Past.</i> no(wi)ht, nsenht <i>Du.</i> —noht, a <i>Ld.</i> na(wi)ht, nawit, noht <i>Lay.</i> nowiht, nowt (nawt) <i>AR.</i> nozt <i>RGl.</i> nocht, a <i>KS.</i> naht <i>Ay.</i> nozt <i>CM.</i> †noht, †nott <i>TM.</i> †noht <i>GE.</i> nozt, †not <i>AllP.</i> †noht, †a <i>Harl.</i> no(ʒ)t <i>Wicl.</i> †noht (ou), †naught, nat (o) <i>Ch.</i> —noughti ‘naughty’ <i>Ch.</i> nott <i>Td.</i> (noort) <i>G.</i> (nooft) occasionally <i>Jn.</i> (noot) <i>Pr.</i> (oo) <i>Ld.</i>			
	māwan	mowen	mow	mou
	—mawe <i>Ay.</i>			
	crāwan	crowen	crow	krou
	—crawe: mawe (= maga) <i>Harl.</i>			
	crāwe	crowe	crow	krou
1415	cnāwan	†cnawenn	know	nou
	—knaue <i>Ay.</i> cnawe <i>AllP.</i> know: schewe <i>Aud.</i> —kno <i>HVg.</i> (knoou), (knooun, knoon) <i>ptc G.</i> (knou, oo) <i>W.</i> (nhoo) <i>Cp, Ld.</i>			
	*cnāwlācan	{ knoulechen knouleche	acknowledge knowledge	eknolidʒ nolidʒ
	—also knoulage—kno(w)le(d)ge <i>vb, sb Td.</i> (knoouledʒ) <i>G.</i> (hnoledʒ) <i>Ld.</i>			
	blāwan	blowen	blow	blou
	—blawe <i>Ay.</i>			
	ā-hwæper	†o(þe)rr ej	or	or
	a(w)per—also oþþr <i>O.</i> owwþerr <i>prn O.</i> o(u)per ej <i>Ld.</i> oþer ej <i>Lay., AR, Ay.</i> ouþer <i>CM.</i> or <i>CM.</i> ouþer (eiþer) . . or ‘either . . or’ <i>Ch.</i>			
	nā-hwæper	†nowwþerr	nor	nor
	nohwæper, nouþer, na(w)per <i>e WS</i> —nouþer <i>Ld., Lay., AR.</i> no(u)per, nauþer <i>North.</i> no(w)per, nawder <i>TM.</i> nawþer <i>AllP.</i> nouþer <i>Aud.</i> nor <i>PPI, Ch.</i> —ne(the)r <i>Td.</i> —see nāgþer.			
1420	hlāf	†laf	loaf	louf

- hlāford †laferd lord lod
 —lauerd *CM.* lauerd, louerd, lord *PC.* †lord *AllP, Aud.* lo(ue)rd
KS. lhord *Ay.* lo(o)rd *Ch*—(oo) *Sm.* (o) *G.*
- hlāf-masse lammasse lammas †lames
 —*Ld.* lammesse *Prompt.*
- clāfre clovere clover klouwer
 a, æ.
- grāf grove grove grouv
chart.
- 1425 drāf prt †draf drove drouv
 drāf sf drove drove drouv
 prāfost provost provost provest
 a, o.
- ān †ān { one wan
 { a(n) e(n)
 —onne, a dai *Ld.* ann sipe *O.* oo(n), a(n) *Ch.* won *emphat. Aud.*—
 (w)one, wonnes *pl Td.* (oon) *G, W, Cp.* (wæn) *Jn.* (on, won
Dyche. (wæn) *Bch.* (wun) *Fr.* (won) *Sh.*
- nān †nan none nan
 —na(n) *Ld.* noon: stoon, no *Ch.* non: Jhon *Aud.*—(oo) *G, W.*
- 1430 on ān †an ān anon †enon
 —on an *Ld.* anoon: euerichoon *Ch*—(anon, senen) *Jn.*
- eall āna †all āne alone eloun
 —later alone—(aloon) *G.*
- *ēnlic onli only ounli
 'unique'—oonli *Ch.* (oonli, oonlei) *G.* (oonli) *Jn, Sh.* (onli) *Bch.*
- nān ping †nan ping nothing nāpin
 —nāping *Lay.* noþing *Ch*—(o) *Bl, G*—*vg* (nāfin).
- †āne †aeness once wans
 —anes *Ld.* enes (ea) *AR.* ones *Best.* enus *Aud.* †e, †o *TM*—(oons)
G. (wæns) *Jn, Bch.* (o) *not* (o), (wæns) *Ld.* (wons) *Sh.*
- 1435 hān sf hone hone houn
 'rock' *chart.*
- scān prt †shan shone fon
 — — (v) *Ld.*
- stān †stan stone stoun
- gegān ptc †gan gone gon, gon
 — — (oo) *G.* (o) *Ld.*
- grānian gronien groan groun
- 1440 drān drane drone droun
 —*Prompt. etc.* no o.
- bān bon bone boun
- hām †ham home houn
- lām lom loam loun
- hwām dat. †whamm whom huw(m)
 s eWS, VP, Du., Ru. a lWS—wham (wam), whom *Lay.* hwam *AR.*

from *Ay.* quills North. when *ALP.* when *Ch.*—(when) *Se.*
(when, when) *G.* (when) *Pe.* (when) *Cp.* *Ja.*

1445	fun	fom	foun	foun
	fo	ok	ok	ouk
	f-unite	—	oukum	oukam
	struckum	struken	stroke	strouk
	spoke	spoke	spoke	spouk
1450	crookum	—	croak	krouk
	taken	takeum	taken	toukn
	quite prt	ouhte	ought	ot
	"possessed"—quite, unite (quite) <i>Ley.</i> ouhte (akte) <i>AR.</i> agte <i>EGL.</i> achte:lichte <i>He.</i> aughte <i>ESC.</i> aghte:bruchte <i>Ch.</i> —acht <i>HV.</i> (win) <i>BL.</i> (aunt) <i>G.</i> (at) <i>Pr.</i> (at) <i>Cp.</i> <i>Ld.</i>			
	agen	tagheum	owe	ou
	"possess"—oven (ahen) <i>AR.</i> ogen <i>Ay.</i> ave North, <i>TM.</i> ogen <i>GE.</i> oven <i>Ch.</i>			
	agen	tagheum	own	oun
	—oven (a) <i>Ley.</i> oven (ahen) <i>AR.</i> ogen <i>Ay.</i> awin:drawin <i>pte</i> (aun:drawin) <i>CM.</i> oven <i>TM.</i> oven <i>ALP.</i> oven <i>Harl.</i> <i>Ch.</i> —owne, owne <i>Td.</i> (oun) <i>G.</i>			
1455	låg	flah	low	lou
	— — (low) <i>G.</i>			
	dåg	douh	dough	dou
	—dag <i>Ay.</i> —(doo) dove <i>Cp.</i> (doo) <i>Ld.</i>			
	ote	ote	oat(s)	out
	— — (ote), (wte) <i>barbare Cp.</i> (otmål) oatmeal <i>Ld.</i>			
	hât	thât	hot	hot
	—hoot <i>Ch.</i> —(whiter) <i>barbare Cp.</i>			
	smât prt	smot	smote	†smout
1460	wât vb	†wât	wot	†wot
	—wot <i>Ch.</i> —thou wottest <i>Td.</i>			
	wrât prt	†wrât	wrote	rout
	gât	†gât	goat	gout
	bât	bot	boat	bout
	— — (boosin) <i>Bcl.</i> (boosin) <i>Så</i> boatswain—(bousin).			
	-hâd	†-had	-hood	-hud
	—wreccched <i>Ld.</i> prestehede: lede vb <i>CM.</i> godhede, manhod(e) <i>Ay.</i> —(-huud) <i>G.</i> (-had) <i>Cp.</i>			
1465	râd prt	rod	rode	roud
	râd sf	{ rode rad	road raid	roud reid
	'riding'—rad North.			
	lâd sf	†lade	lode	loud
	'leading,' 'path'— — also in loadstone.			
	sc(e)adan	†shædenn	shed	fed
	separate'—shadd <i>pte O.</i>			
	strâd prt	strod	strode	stroud

	wād	wod	woad	woud
1470	gād sf	gode	goad	goud
	tādige	tode	toad	toud
	—tadde <i>AR.</i>			
	bād	abod	abode	eboud
	‘waiting.’			
	brād	†brad	broad	brod
	— — (oo) <i>Sm, G.</i>	(oo) <i>Cp, EO.</i>	(oo) <i>Bch.</i>	(oo) <i>Sh.</i>
	rāp	†rap	rope	roup
1475	sāpe	sope	soap	soup
	swāpan	swopen	sweep	swijp
	<i>prt swēop. aswopen ptc Ru.—AR, Ch. prt swāp—(ii) Bl.</i>			
	grāpian	gropen	grope	group
	pāpa	pope	pope	poup
	— — pop <i>HVg.</i>			

æ.

	sæ	†sæ	sea	sij
	— — (see) <i>G.</i>	(sii) <i>W.</i>	(see) <i>Cp.</i>	
1480	ær	†ær	ere	teer
	—ær <i>adv O.</i>	ear <i>Ld.</i>	ær, ar (are) <i>Lay.</i>	†er, ar <i>adv RGL.</i>
		<i>North., TM.</i>	er <i>Harl.</i>	or(e) <i>Aud.</i>
			er (or) <i>Ch—yer Td.</i>	(eer) <i>G.</i>
		(iir) <i>EO, Sh.</i>		
	ræran	reren	rear	rier
	†skær	skere	sheer	†ier
	‘pure.’	<i>OE scir—also s(c)here.</i>	<i>sh from OE.</i>	
	hælan	†hælenn	heal	hijl
	— — (ee) <i>Bl.</i>			
	†hælo	help	health	help
	—hæle <i>O, Lay.</i>	hele <i>Ch.</i>	heele <i>Prompt.</i>	helpe <i>Lay., Ay., GE, Prompt.</i>
	—(ee) <i>G.</i>			
1485	dæl	†del	deal	dijl
	—del, todeled, dæleth <i>Ld.</i>	dælenn <i>vð O.</i>		
	†þræl	þral	thrall	†þrol
	þræll <i>nom.</i>	þræl <i>OE, from Scand.—þrel Lay., AR, Ay.</i>	<i>pl þralles Lay., þrelles AR.</i>	þral <i>North., †RBC.</i>
			thral: al <i>Ch.</i>	
	ælc	†ille	each	ijtf
	<i>y, oe VP. not in Du., Ru.—elc, æ Ld.</i>	æl(c)h, elch, alc, alch, ulc,		
	æch (ech) <i>Lay.</i>	euch <i>Jul.</i>	ilch <i>AR.</i>	ilk <i>North., GE.</i>
		ilch <i>TM.</i>		
	uch <i>AUP, Harl., Aud.</i>	ech <i>Ay., Ch—(eetf) G.</i>	(iidg) <i>Ld.</i>	
	hæp	hep	heath	hijp
	hæpen	†hæpenn	heathen	hijðen
	scæp sf (?)	†shæpe	sheath	†ijp
	æ, ea, e <i>LWS.</i>			
1490	wræp sf (?)	wrepe	wreath	rijp

	wrǣp(p)o	†wraþþe	wrath	†rōþ
	— (wraþ) <i>G.</i>	(rooþ) <i>EO, Sh.</i>	(ræeþ) <i>Bch.</i>	
	†klǣþdi prt	cladde	clad	†klæd
	<i>OE</i> clāþian—cloþen and cleþen in <i>ME.</i>	clad(e) <i>CM.</i>	clad : led prt <i>MH.</i>	
		clad : bed <i>TM.</i>	clad <i>ALLP.</i>	yclad <i>Ch.</i>
	hǣs sƿ	bihæste	behest	†bihest
	—behæsa <i>pl</i> 'promises' <i>Chr</i> 1093— <i>Lay.</i>	biheste <i>AR, Ch.</i>	beheste <i>Ay.</i>	
	þȳ-lǣs-þe	leste	lest	lest
	<i>æ VP.</i> <i>æ, e Ru.</i> —leste <i>Lay.</i>	leste (ea) <i>AR.</i>	lest <i>ALLP, Harl., Wicl.</i>	
		last, <i>e Aud.</i>	natheles : pees <i>Ch</i> —neverthelesse <i>Td.</i>	
1495	tǣsan	tosen	tease	tijz
	'carpo'—also <i>ai.</i>			
	lǣssa	†lasse	less	les
	<i>æ VP.</i> <i>e Ru.</i> —læsse (a) <i>Lay.</i>	<i>e, ea AR.</i>	lasse : nesse <i>ON.</i>	<i>e</i> †North.
	† <i>TM, †GE, Ay.</i>	<i>a RGL, ALLP, †Aud.</i>	† <i>e, †a Ch.</i>	
	flǣsc	†flæsh, flessh	flesh	fleʃ
	<i>æ VP</i> —flæsc <i>Lay.</i>	flesch <i>Jul.</i>	fleschs, vleschs, flechs (flesch, fles) <i>AR.</i>	
		flesc, fleis <i>Hom.</i>	flesce <i>KS.</i>	ulesse <i>Ay.</i>
		fleis, flesse : lesse <i>CM.</i>	fleyse : liknes, fleys : neys <i>adj MH.</i>	fleis <i>GE.</i>
		fleish <i>Harl.</i>	flesch <i>ALLP.</i>	fleisch <i>Wicl.</i>
		flessh (ei) <i>Ch</i> —fless(h)e <i>Td.</i>		
	lǣst	†læst	least	lijst
	leasest <i>Du.</i>	læsest <i>Ru.</i> —le(i)st : be(i)st <i>North.</i>	least <i>Ch</i> —(ee) <i>G.</i>	
	lǣstan	†flasstenn	last	laast
	'perform'— <i>æ, a Ld.</i>	<i>ea, e Jul.</i>	<i>e Ay.</i>	<i>a North.</i>
			† <i>e GE.</i>	
1500	wrǣstan	wresten	wrest	†rest
	— (hrest) <i>Ld.</i>			
	wrǣstlian	wrestlen	wrestle	real
	<i>lWS</i> also wrǣxlian, wraxlian— <i>æ Lay.</i>	<i>e Kath., GE.</i>	<i>a AR, Ch</i> —	
	(wrestl) <i>BU.</i>	(resl) <i>Jn, Bch, Sh.</i>		
	mǣst	†mast, æ	most	moust
	<i>æ VP</i> — <i>ea, e Ld.</i>	allmasst <i>O.</i>	<i>æ Lay.</i>	<i>ea, e Jul.</i>
		<i>e AR, RGL, Ay., Harl.</i>	<i>a North.</i>	<i>o GE.</i>
		† <i>e, †o RBC.</i>	†meest <i>Ch</i> —utmoost <i>Td.</i>	
	(oo) <i>Cp.</i>	(u) <i>Mg.</i>	(uu) <i>EO.</i>	(o) <i>Bch.</i>
			(oo) <i>Sh</i> —(atmōst).	
	gǣstlic	gastli	ghastly	gaastli
	<i>Grein</i> —(gæsli) <i>Jn.</i>			
	lǣwed	†læwedd	lewd	l(j)uwd
	'lay(man)'—lawed <i>Ld.</i>	lewede (er) <i>Jul.</i>	lau(e)d <i>North.</i>	logede <i>GE.</i>
	lewd <i>TM.</i>	leud <i>Prompt.</i>	lewed <i>Ch</i> —(eu) <i>G, Pr.</i>	
1505	†slǣwþ	slouþe	sloth	slouþ
	slāw <i>adj</i> —slauþe <i>Lay.</i>	slouhþe <i>AR.</i>	sle(a)uþe <i>Ay.</i>	sleuthe <i>Harl.</i>
	slouth <i>Aud.</i>	sloth, slewth, slawthe : trawthe <i>TM.</i>	slouthie : trouthe <i>Ch</i> —slewth <i>Td.</i>	
	ǣfre	†æfre	ever	evēr
	—ouer <i>Ld.</i>	æfer, e(e)uer (euere) <i>Lay.</i>	awre, euer <i>TM.</i>	euere <i>Ch.</i>
	—(ever) <i>G.</i>			
	*ǣfre-ǣlc	everich	every	evri
	—æuric, æureum wile <i>Ld.</i>	æueralc(h), auralch, enerule <i>Lay.</i>	eaueur- euch <i>Kath.</i>	euereich (euch) <i>AR.</i>
		euereich <i>Ay.</i>	euerilk <i>North., TM.</i>	eueric <i>GE.</i>
		eueruch <i>Harl.</i>	eueric, euery <i>Ch</i> —(everi, evræi) <i>G.</i>	

læfan	leven	leave	lijv
—leving <i>H Vg.</i>			
læfde prt	†læfedd ptc	left	left
—læuede <i>Ld.</i> læfde, a, (e) <i>Lay.</i> læfde <i>Jul.</i> leaved <i>ptc AR.</i> left <i>North.</i> † <i>RBC.</i> †lefte, laft: shaft <i>TM.</i> lefte, a, ylaft: craft <i>Ch</i> —leeft <i>prt Td.</i>			
1510 næfre	†næfre	never	never
—nefra, neure <i>Ld.</i> neauere <i>Kath.</i> never <i>AR.</i> neure <i>Ay.</i> neuer <i>North.</i> nawre <i>TM.</i> ner <i>Harl.</i>			
hlæfdige	†læffdig	lady	leidi
a <i>VP</i> —le(a)fdi <i>Jul.</i> lauedi, leuedi <i>KS.</i> lheuedi <i>Ay.</i> leuedi (e, a) <i>CM.</i> lefdi <i>MH.</i> leuedi, ledi <i>Harl.</i> ladi <i>Ch.</i>			
ænig	†anig	any	eni
—ani, æni <i>Ld.</i> æni, æi, ei <i>Lay.</i> e(a)ni (ei) <i>Jul.</i> oni <i>Procl.</i> eny <i>Ay.</i> any <i>North.</i> ani <i>GE.</i> eny <i>Harl.</i> ane <i>Aud.</i> ony <i>Wicl.</i> any, †eny (o) <i>Ch</i> —eny <i>Td.</i> ani <i>G.</i> (æ) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
hlæne	lene	lean	lijn
—lhene <i>Ay.</i>			
læn sf	lone	loan	loun
to lane <i>Suff. chart.</i> lanesang <i>Wgl.</i> generally <i>læn.</i>			
1515 lænan	†lenenn	lend	lend
—æ <i>Lay.</i> ea <i>Kath.</i> lenen <i>Ch.</i> leendin <i>inf Prompt.</i>			
læned ptc	†lenedd	lent	lent
—lent <i>CM, PPl.</i>			
mænan	†menenn	mean	mijn
‘mean’—also <i>mænen.</i>			
mænan	menenn	moan	moun
‘complain’—æ, e <i>Lay.</i> ea <i>Kath.</i> menen <i>vb.</i> mone <i>sb AR.</i> manen <i>min mon Prisoner's Prayer.</i> inonen <i>GE.</i>			
mæned ptc	mened	meant	ment
1520 gemæne	†imæn	mean	mijn
‘common.’ <i>sbst</i> gemæna—imæne, o <i>Lay.</i> imeane <i>Jul.</i>			
clæne	†clene	clean	klijn
clane <i>adv</i> —clænnesse, clennlike <i>O.</i> æ (ea), clane (ea) <i>adv Lay.</i> ea <i>AR.</i> e, ie <i>Ay.</i>			
wrænna	wrenne	wren	ren
werna <i>Cp.</i> wrenna <i>Wgl</i> —wranne: monne <i>ON.</i>			
clænsian	†clennsenn	cleanse	klens
clasnian <i>VP</i> —e <i>KS, North., Ch.</i> a <i>Aud.</i> —(ii) <i>Bch.</i> (e) <i>Sh.</i> (kliinli) cleanly <i>Bch, Sh</i> —(klenli).			
æmette	amete	{ emmet	†emitt
		{ ant	aant
— <i>RGL.</i> amote <i>Ay.</i> am(p)te <i>Wicl.</i> also emote, emete, ematte, emmotte, ante—(ænt) ant, (æent) aunt <i>Ld.</i> (ænt) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
1525 æmet(t)ig	empti	empty	emti
‘unoccupied’—empti <i>AR.</i> emti <i>Ay.</i> amti <i>RGL</i> —(empti) <i>G.</i>			
glæm	glem	gleam	glijm
ræcan	rechen	reach	rijtj
—reche <i>North., †TM.</i>			

iriseant	—	reuech	riuef
"epte" — (a) Ld.		reuech	reuf
teuech	†teuechenn	teuech	teuef
"dure" — dūre, he teuf Ay.			
1535 bliseant	blisechenn	blisech	blisef
teufte prt	†teufte	teufte	teuf
— ea, a, e Ld. teufte, blise, teufte, teufte (teufte) Lay. teufte Jul.			
teufte AR. teufte EE. teufte Ay. teufte North. a GE, Harl.			
teufte Ch—(a) Ld. (a) G.			
steiger	steire	steir	steor
wēge	wēie	wēy	wēi
"weight," "scale"			
hūegun	negen	neigh	nei
— (a) Pr. (a) Bk. (a, a) Ld. (a) Sd.			
1535 eūg ef	keie	key	kij
— keie Ld. keye : pleye Ch—ke HVG. keye Td. (ke) Pr. Ja.			
(a) EO, Ld.			
clæg	clai	clay	klei
— (a) — (a, a) G.			
eg-hwæper	†eggperr	either	aiðer, iðer
also egper. egper Da—eifer, ei (ai) Lay. eifer AR. eider, ai Ay.			
eyther North. a/yther TM. eyther Harl.—(ei) Sm. (ei, ei) G.			
(ei, ee) Ja. (e) Ld. (a) EO, Sd. (ei) Bk, Fr.			
*næghwæper	†nowperr	neither	naiðer
— nother Ch. (ei, ei) G. (ee, e) Op. (ei, ee) Ja. (ee) EO. (e) Ld.			
(a) Bk. (a) Sd.—see nā hwæper.			
hæto	†hæte	heat	hijt
1540 hæti sn	†hæte	seat	sijt
— (ee) W.			
swætan	sweten	sweet	swet
swæt sb—swát sb O. zwat sb Ay.—(ee) Sm. (e) BH. (ee) Cp. (set)			
Ja. (swot) vg.			
hwæte	†whæte	wheat	whijt
spætte prt	spatte	spat	spæt
spætan inf.—speten inf.			
fætt	†fatt	fat	fæt
w VP.			
1545 lædan	†ledenn	lead	lijd
— w Ld. w, ea, e (eo) Lay. ea Jul.—leding HVG. (ee) Wk, Pr.			
hlæder ef	laddre	ladder	læder
leddre AR, GE. lheddre Ay. a RGL.			
sprædan	sprenden	spread	spreð
— ee Ch. (e) G.			
lædde prt	†ledde	led	led
— e Ld. w, ea (a) Lay. ea AR. e †North., †He, GE. led : bed,			
lad : had RBC. a Harl., Aud. ladde : hadde Ch—leed Td.			

	sprædde prt	†spredd ptc	spread	spred
	—a <i>Lay.</i> ea (e) <i>AR.</i> e † <i>North.</i> , † <i>RBC.</i> a <i>Aud.</i> spradde : hadde <i>Ch</i> —sreed <i>Td.</i>			
1550	gemædd ptc	mad	mad	mæd
	gemædid <i>Cp</i> —madd : radd (= <i>OI</i> hrædd) <i>CM.</i> medde : ledde <i>prt MH.</i> mad : glad <i>RBC.</i>			
	bæddel	badde	bad	bæd
	'hermaphrodite.'			

æ (ē).

	gæ (æ)	†ga	yea	†jei
	gea <i>WS.</i> gee, gæ <i>Du.</i> gæ <i>Ru.</i> —gea <i>Kath.</i> ze, zui <i>AR.</i> gia (yaa) : sua <i>CM.</i> ya <i>Prompt.</i> —(ee) <i>Sb.</i> (jee, jii, ii) <i>Jn.</i> (joo) <i>rustic Cp.</i> (jii) <i>EO, Ld.</i> (jee) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
	ærende (æ)	†errnde	errand	erend
	—ærnde, er(e)nde, arunde (ea) <i>Lay.</i> erand <i>North.</i> erand, arand <i>TM.</i> erd(e)ne <i>GE.</i> arende, ernde <i>ALLP.</i>			
	hær (æ)	†hær	hair	heer
	her <i>Du., Ru.</i> —he(a)r <i>Kath.</i> †hare <i>North.</i> hor : sor, her : per <i>Hr.</i> †hore, †hare <i>TM.</i> here <i>ALLP.</i> heer <i>Wicl., †Ch</i> —ee <i>Td.</i> (heer) <i>Bl.</i> (ee) <i>Cp.</i>			
1555	þær (æ)	†þær(e)	there	ðeer
	e <i>VP, Du.</i> æ <i>Ru.</i> æ, a <i>lWS</i> —þær, ea, e, a, þære etc <i>Ld, Lay.</i> þe(a)r <i>Kath.</i> þer(e) <i>AR, Ay.</i> †þere <i>RGl.</i> þare : fare vb <i>ON.</i> þar(e) <i>North.</i> †ðer, ðor <i>GE.</i> †e, †u, †a <i>RBC, TM.</i> †þere <i>ALLP.</i> þore : more, a, e <i>Harl.</i> thore : lore sb, e <i>Aud.</i> —(ee, aa) <i>Sm.</i>			
	wæron (æ) prt	†wærenn	were	weer
	e <i>VP, Du., Ru.</i> rarely æ in <i>Du., Ru.</i> —wæron, we(a)ren, a <i>Ld.</i> we(o)ren, a <i>Lay.</i> weren <i>AR.</i> e, a <i>KS.</i> e <i>Ay.</i> †were, †war(e) <i>North.</i> †e, †a <i>ALLP.</i> †o, e <i>GE.</i> †o, †e <i>TM.</i> †a, †e <i>RBC</i> —(weer) <i>G, Cp, Jn, EO.</i> (e) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
	hwær (æ)	†hwær	where	wheer
	e <i>VP, Du.</i> æ <i>Ru.</i> æ, a <i>lWS</i> —nowwhar <i>O.</i> hw(e)ar, hwere <i>Ld.</i> whær, e, iwere (ware) <i>Lay.</i> a, (e) <i>AR.</i> e <i>Ay.</i> quar(e) <i>North.</i> quor, e <i>GE.</i> quere <i>ALLP.</i> †a, †o, e <i>TM.</i> †a, †e <i>RBC</i> —hwier <i>HVg.</i> (wheer) <i>G.</i>			
	fær (æ)	†fær	fear	fier
	'danger'—offæred <i>Ld.</i> offæren, fe(o)rlich <i>Jul.</i> —feare vb, fearful <i>Td.</i> (feer) <i>G.</i> (fiir) <i>Cp.</i>			
	gær (æ)	†gær, e	year	jier •
	gear <i>WS.</i> e <i>Du.</i> —gear, gær <i>Ld.</i> zer <i>Lay.</i> zeare dat. <i>Procl.</i> gier (yeire) <i>CM</i> —(ii) <i>Sb, Bl, Bt.</i> (jeer) <i>G.</i> (jiir) <i>Pr.</i>			
1560	bær (æ) sf	†bære	bier	bier
	ee <i>Du.</i> e <i>Ru.</i> —(ii) <i>Sb.</i>			
	æl (æ)	el	eel	ijl
	gesælig (æ)	†selig	silly	sili
	'beatus'—sele <i>Aud.</i> sely (ee) <i>Ch.</i>			
	mæl (æ)	†mæl	meal	mijl
	— <i>Sb implies (mill).</i>			

	bræþ (*ə) —breð (ea) <i>AR.</i>	brēþ breeth (e) : heeth <i>Ch</i> —(e) <i>BL.</i>	breath	brēþ
1565	*bræþan — (ee) <i>G.</i>	brēþen	breathe	brijð
	*hwæssan (*ə) hweos <i>prt</i> <i>ÆfcH.</i>	whesen	wheese	whijs
	cæse (ə) y <i>lWS</i> —æ, eo <i>Ld.</i>	chese tsis <i>Sb.</i>	cheese	tʃijs
	blæst (ə) —æ <i>Lay.</i> e <i>Ay.</i> a <i>Best.</i> , † <i>GE.</i> , † <i>TM</i> —(æ) <i>Cp.</i> (æ) <i>Bel.</i> , <i>Sh.</i>	blast	blast	blaast
	mæw (ə) ē <i>Ep.</i> , ea <i>Cp.</i> æ <i>WS</i> —mowe <i>Prompt.</i>	meaw	sea(mew)	†mjuw
1570	æfen (ə) efern <i>Du.</i> , efen <i>Ru.</i> æfenung <i>ÆfcH</i> —æuen <i>Lay.</i> —(iivniŋ) <i>G.</i>	†efenn	even(ing)	ijvniŋ
	læce (ə) —e <i>AR</i> —(ii, ee) <i>Sm.</i>	†læche	leech	lijtʃ
	spræc (ə) spæc <i>lWS.</i> sprec <i>Du.</i> , <i>Ru.</i> —spræce <i>obl case Ld.</i> speke, speche : meke <i>adj Hv</i> —(ii) <i>BL.</i>	†spæche	speech	spijtʃ speche (e) <i>AR.</i>
	†wæg (ə) —wage (<i>Lay.</i>), <i>Ay.</i> wawe <i>AUP.</i> , <i>Wicl.</i> , <i>Ch.</i> wawghe <i>TM.</i> <i>infl of</i> wagian (<i>ME</i> wawien)— <i>infl of</i> wafian. wave <i>Td.</i> waw <i>Sb.</i>	wawe	wave	weiv
	hwæg (*ə)	whei	whey	whei
1575	græg (ə) — — graye, grey <i>Td.</i> (eei) <i>Pg.</i> (ee) <i>Pr.</i> , <i>Ld.</i>	grei	gray, grey	grei
	æt prt (ə) —eet : feet <i>Ch.</i>	†ét	ate	eit, et
	lætan (ə) —latenn 'behave' <i>O</i> ; <i>OI</i> lāta. æ, e <i>Ld.</i> e <i>Lay.</i> e (eo) <i>AR.</i> a (a, e) <i>CM.</i> leete : strete <i>MH.</i> loten : bihoten <i>GE.</i> o <i>AUP.</i> leete : heete (= hūte), <i>imper.</i> leet, lat (e) <i>Ch</i> —lét(t), lat <i>Td.</i> (æ) <i>barbare Cp.</i>	†lætenn, é	let	let
	stræt (ə) sf —Strætford <i>Ld.</i> — — (strætfæd, stræfæd) <i>Stratford etc.</i> <i>Stratford.</i>	†stræte	street	strijt
	wæt (ə) —e <i>Lay.</i> , <i>AR.</i> wate <i>PC.</i> weytt <i>TM.</i>	weet	wet	wet
1580	mæte (ə) 'moderate' —met <i>HVg.</i> (ii) <i>G.</i>	†mete(like)	meet	†mijt
	blætan (ə)	†blætenn	bleat	blijt
	ræd (ə) 'advice'—æ, e <i>Ld.</i> also rāþ <i>O</i> ; <i>OI</i> rāþ. æ (ea) <i>Lay.</i> e (ea) <i>AR.</i> rathe <i>rb</i> : bæþe 'both' <i>Hr.</i> †rede <i>TM.</i>	†ræd	rede	†rijd
	rædan (ə) e <i>Rit.</i> æ <i>Ru.</i> —æ <i>Ld.</i> redd <i>ptc</i> <i>O.</i> —(ee) <i>non</i> (ii) <i>G.</i> (ee) <i>W.</i> (ii) <i>Cp.</i>	†rædenn, é	read	rijd
	rædels (*ə) —also i—redles <i>pl Td.</i>	redels	riddle	ridl
1585	þræd (ə) —æ <i>Lay.</i> —(ee) <i>Sm.</i>	þred	thread	þred

sǣd (ǣ)	†sed	seed	sijd
nǣdre (ǣ)	†neddre	adder	soder
nǣd(d)re <i>lWS</i> —nadre <i>Ld.</i> neddre <i>AR, Best., GE.</i> neder (dd) <i>CM.</i> eddre <i>Ay., Wicl.</i> edder <i>TM.</i> naddre <i>Ch.</i>			
nǣdl (ǣ)	†nedle	needle	nijdl
nǣðl <i>Ep., nethl Cp</i> —nelde <i>AR.</i>			
mǣd (ǣ)	{ mede medwe	mead meadow	†mijð medou
‘meadow.’ <i>gen.</i> mǣdwe—medewe <i>dat. Lay.</i> medewe <i>Prompt.</i> mede <i>Ch.</i>			
1590 grǣdig (ǣ)	†gredig	greedy	grijdi
— (ii) <i>G.</i>			
dǣd (ǣ) <i>sf</i>	†dede	deed	dijð
—dǣdbote <i>O.</i> æ, e <i>Ld.</i> dede <i>AR</i> —ðid <i>HVg.</i>			
on-drǣdan (ǣ)	†drǣdenn, e	dread	dred
e <i>Du., Ru.</i> — e, (e) <i>AR.</i> ptc dredd <i>O.</i> prt †dredde, †a <i>Ch</i> —(ee) <i>Sm.</i>			
blǣdre (ǣ)	bladdre	bladder	blæder
blǣd(d)re <i>lWS</i> —bleddre <i>AR.</i> a <i>Ch.</i>			
rǣdde prt (ǣ)	†redd ptc	read	red
—geredd <i>Ld.</i> a <i>Lay.</i> e <i>North.</i> a † <i>Hartl., Ch</i> —reed <i>Td.</i> (e) <i>Sm, G.</i>			
1595 slǣpan (ǣ)	†slǣpenn	sleep	sljip
æ, a <i>WS</i> —slǣp <i>sb,</i> slæpen <i>Ld.</i> slæp, a, e <i>sb O.</i> slæpen, eo, e, (e) <i>Lay.</i>			
scǣp (ǣ)	†shep	sheep	ſjip
ea <i>WS.</i> i <i>Du.</i> e, io <i>Ru.</i> —scheap, e (éé) <i>Lay.</i> schep <i>AR.</i> ssep <i>Ay.</i> scepe : kepe vb <i>CM</i> —(ii) <i>Sb, Sm etc.</i>			
scǣp-hirde (ǣ)	sheepherde	shepherd	ſeped
— — scheepherd <i>Ch.</i> (ſepherd) <i>G.</i>			
wǣpen (ǣ)	†wǣpenn	weapon	wepen
—wāpen, we(a)pnen <i>pl</i> (wepne) <i>Lay.</i> wopen, e <i>GE.</i> <i>OI</i> vāpn— (wiipn) <i>EO, Ld, Bch.</i> (wepn) <i>Sh.</i>			
slǣpte prt (ǣ)	†slǣppte	aslept	aslept

ē (ǣ).

1600 hē	†he	he	hij
—(h)e (heo) <i>Lay.</i> heo <i>Hom.</i> he, ha <i>KS.</i> he, ha, hi <i>Ay.</i> —(hii) <i>G.</i>			
þē	†þe	thee	†ðij
wē	†we	we	wij
— — wi <i>HVg.</i> (wii) <i>Pr, Cp etc.</i>			
mē	†me	me	mij
— — (mii) <i>Pr.</i> (mee) <i>Cp, Mg, Jn.</i>			
gē	†ge	ye	†ijj
—ye, hye <i>KS.</i>			

- 1605 hār †hēr(e) here hīer
 —hērbiforenn *O.* her(e) *Lay.* her(en) *Hom.* †here *RGL, RBC.* hīer,
 hyer *Ay.*—(hīir, heer) *BL.* (hīier) *G.*
- gehēran †herenn hear hīer
 ie, i *LWS,* y *LWS*—heren (u) *Lay.* u *RGL.* e, (u) *PPL.* here, hyere,
 hīere *Ay.* harstow (= hērest þu) *TM*—heare *Td.* (heer, hīir) *Bt.*
 (hīir) *W* etc.
- stēran †sterenn steer stīer
 y *LWS.*
- wōerig weri weary wīeri
 — wiri *HVg.* (weeri, ii) *Bt.* (weeri) *G.* (weri) *Pr.* (wīiri), (wēri)
barbare Cp.
- brēr(e) †breress pl briar braier
 brere : manere, breres : geres ('dress') *Ch.* brere : chere *TM*—bryres *Td.*
- 1610 blēre bler(eyed) blear(eyed) blieraid
 blierie = blērige 'blear-eyed' (i) *chart.*—(bliir) *Pr* etc.
- hērenian { †herrenenn hearken †haaskn
 { herkien hark haak
 —herkyn, harken; harke *imper. TM.* herkien *Hom.* herk *imper.* : werk
RBC. herkin *Prompt.* herken *Ch*—(heerkn, a) *Bt.* (harkn) *G.*
 (herkn) *Mg.* (hærkn) *EO.* (hæerkn) *Bch, Sh.*
- gehērde prt †he(o)rrde heard heed
 y *LWS*—herde, a, i (o) *Lay.* u *RGL.* e (u) *PPL.* yh(y)erd *Ay.* e, a
North. †a *TM*—herde, a *Td.* (aa) *G.* (ee, a) *Bt.* (æ) *Pr* etc.
 (e) *Jn.* (ii) *Ld*—(hiid) *vg.*
- hēla hele heel hījl
 stēle stel steel stījl
 y *LWS.*
- 1615 fēlan felen feel fījl
 — (ii) *G.*
- †fēlagi felawe fellow felou
 —feolahe (feolohschipe) *Jul.* fe(o)lawe *AR.* velage *Ay.* felaghe *North.*
 felage *GE.* felawes : dawes *RBC.* felowe *TM, Wicl.* felawe : shawe
Ch—(felou) *G.*
- tōþ pl teþ teeth tīþ
 brōþer dat. †breþre pl brethren †breðrin
 pl brōþor, gebrōþru—breðre *pl Ld.* broþeren, breþeren (broþers) *Lay.*
 breðren *AR.* breþer *North.* breðere *GE.* brether *TM.* britheren,
 e *Wicl.* bretherede *Ch*—(breðren) *aut* (breðern) *G.*
- gōes pl ges geese gījs
 — gysse *Td.*
- 1620 brēsan brusen bruise bruwz
 y *LWS*—brisin, o *Prompt.* u (o) *Ch.* bressed *pte TM*—brosed *Td.*
 broosed *Ck.* (iu) *Jn.* (uu) *Ld.*
- wōeste †wesste waste weist
 'desert'—weste *Lay.* wast : māst *CM*—(aa) *G.*
- gerōefa reve reeve rijv
 —grezzfe *O.* from *Scand.* greifi.

	scir-gerōfa	schirreve	sheriff	ſerif
	—schirreve: ilēve <i>Moral Ode</i> —(v) <i>Ld.</i>			
	gelēfan	†lefenn	believe	bilijv
	belyfan <i>Æfch</i> —bileven <i>Lay.</i> bilefde <i>Jul.</i> —(ii) <i>G.</i>			
1625	slēf	sleve	sleeve	slijv
	also slēfe (†). y <i>lWS.</i>			
	þēfþ sf	þēfþe	theft	þeft
	y <i>lWS</i> —eo <i>Lay., AR.</i> u <i>RGl.</i> ie <i>Ay.</i> ſette <i>GE.</i> thefte <i>Ch.</i>			
	hēng prt	†heng	hung	harj
	—e <i>Lay.</i> o <i>North.</i> e, ee (y, o) <i>Ch.</i>			
	gesēne adj	†sene	seen	sijn
	gesewen ptc	†seghenn		
	gesēne used as ptc in <i>Du.</i> and <i>Ru.</i> ; gesēne, ea also <i>Ru.</i> y <i>lWS.</i>			
	gesewen <i>WS.</i> gesegen <i>VP</i> —sen ptc <i>North., Best., AUP.</i> sayne, sayne:			
	eyne 'eyes' <i>Aud.</i> seyn <i>Wicl.</i> yseyn: ayeyn, sayn: fayn <i>Ch</i> —(i) <i>Jn.</i>			
	scēne	†shene	sheen	†ſijn
	(i)e, y, eo, io—also scōne <i>O.</i> sc(e)one (e) <i>Lay.</i>			
1630	wēnan	†wenenn	ween	†wijn
	— (ii) <i>Sm.</i>			
	cōne	†kene	keen	kijn
	cwōen sf	†owen	queen	kwijn
	—also cwene—kwin <i>HVg.</i> (ii) <i>G., Bch., Sh.</i>			
	grōne	†grene	green	grijn
	— (ii) <i>G.</i>			
	tēn	†téne, tenn	ten	ten
	y <i>lWS</i> —ten(n) <i>Ld.</i> ten(e) <i>Lay., AR.</i> ten <i>Ay.</i> tgen: men <i>GE.</i> ten:			
	men <i>TM</i> —(i) <i>Mg.</i>			
1635	-tēne	†-tene	-teen	-tijn
	y <i>lWS</i> — (iirtin, iirtiia) <i>G.</i>			
	gescēman	†semenn	seem	sijn
	'reconcile; ' <i>OI</i> scēma 'befit'—(bisiim) <i>G.</i>			
	tēman	†tāmenn	teem	tijn
	y <i>lWS</i> —infl of tēam <i>subst.</i> teamen <i>HaliM.</i> temen 'prepare' <i>Lay.</i>			
	dēman	†demenn*	deem	dijn
	— (ii) <i>G.</i>			
	*brōemēl	brembel	bramble	bræmbl
	e, y—brimbil, bremmil <i>Prompt.</i> brembil, i <i>Wicl.</i> —(a) <i>G.</i>			
1640	ēcan	†ekenn	eke	ijk
	i <i>lWS</i> — (iik) <i>G.</i> (eek) <i>Jn.</i>			
	rēc	rek	reek	rijk
	scēcan	†sekenn	seek	sijk
	—sechen, æ <i>Lay.</i> sechen <i>AR.</i> zeche, he zekþ <i>Ay.</i> sek <i>North.</i> ch			
	<i>Harl., AUP, Aud.</i> k (ch) <i>PPL.</i> k <i>Wicl.</i> †seke, †seche <i>Ch.</i>			
	be-scēcan	beseken	beseech	bisijtſ
	—ch <i>Lay., AR, KS, Ay.</i> besekeþ, bisecheþ <i>KS.</i> k <i>North., †RBC.</i> ch			
	<i>Harl., AUP, †Aud.</i> †ch, †k <i>Ch.</i>			
	bōce	beche	beech	bijtſ

- 1645 **bēcnan** †becnenn beek(on) bek(en)
i lWS—bēcniēn *Lay.* bekke : Senekke *Ch.* bekniēn, bekīn ‘nutare’
Prompt.
- brāc pl** brech { breech †brijt
 { breeches britfiz
 —breke *TM.* brech, brak ‘bracca’ *Prompt.*—(brijt) *Sm.* (britfē) *G.*
 (britf) *Ld.*
- hēhpo sf** heighte height hait
i lWS—hegþe *Ay.* heyt *MH.* heighte : feyghte vō *RBC.* hyght : myght
TM. heitþe *Prompt.* heighte (e) *Ch.*—haight *Ch.* (heirt) *G.* (heit,
 heet) *Cp.* (hait, heet, heetþ) *Jn.* the last spelt heighth. (haiþt) *Ld.*
 (heet) *EO.* Beh. (hoit) *Sh.*
- nēhst** †nesst next nekst
y lWS. nest *VP.* Du. nēhst, *i Ru.*—nexte *Lay.* nixte sō *Ay.* nestfalde
Jul. nest : prēst *North., GE.* nest †*RBC.* Harl.
- *ēgaþ** eit eyot eit
WS iggaþ, igeoþ—eit *Lay.* eit from *ēhþ, *ēgþ (*cp* siht from gesihþ).
- 1650 **ēg-land** iland island ailend
i lWS. ealond *VP.*—eitlond (ilond) *Lay.* eilond *Best.*
- hēg** hei hay hei
i lWS.—(hei) *Bl.* (hai) *G.* (hee) *Cp.*
- lēgetu sf** leit lightning laitniȝ
i lWS—*Lay., AR.* ai *Ay.* leiten vō, confused w. lihhtenn ‘illuminate,’
 lihhtnen ‘shine.’ lightninge ‘fulgur’ *Prompt.*—(leixtniȝ) *G.*
- †slēg** †sleh sly slai
 —sley : ney ‘near’ *RGl.* sleze *pl Ay.* sleghe : deghe (= deyja) *CM.*
 sly *MH.* sleeȝ, sliz *Wicl.* sly : hertely *Ch.*
- wrēgan** †twreg(h)enn (be)wray †birei
 —wreien *AR.* *Ch.* wraie *Ay.* also wrie.
- 1655 **tēgan** teien tie tai
i lWS.—teien (tize) *Lay.* teien *AR.*
- twēgen** †twezzenn twain †twein
- dēgan** deyen dye dai
i lWS—*Ch.* dyyn *Prompt.*
- †slēgþ sf** sleihte sleight †slait
 ‘cunning’—liste (slehþe) *Lay.* sleȝþe *Ay.* sleight : heyght (= hēhþo)
RBC. sleighte : eighte, slyghte : myghte *Ch.*—(ai) *Ld.* (sloit) *Beh.*
 (sloit) *Sh.*
- lēt prt** †lēt let let
 —le(o)t *Ld.* le(a)tte *Lay.* lette *AR.* leet *North., GE.* leet : feet *Ch.*
- 1660 **swāte** †swēt(e) sweet swijt
- scōte** shete sheet fijt
y lWS.
- fōet pl** †fēt feet fijt
 — (ii) *G.*
- mōetan** meten meet mijt
- grōetan** †gretenn greet grijt

1665	bētel 'malleus,' y <i>lWS</i> .	betel	beetle	bijtl
	gemōette prt	mette	met	met
	*hōēdan hedan.	heden	heed	hijd
	stōēda	stede	steed	†stijd
	spōēd sf 'wealth.'	†sped	speed	spijd
1670	fōēdan	†fedenn	feed	fijd
	— — fiding <i>HVg</i> .			
	nōēd sf	†nede	need	nijd
	ie <i>eWS</i> , y, ea, eo <i>lWS</i> —neod(e) <i>Lay</i> . nede, neod <i>AR</i> . nyede <i>Ay</i> .— neade <i>Td</i> . (ii) <i>G</i> , <i>Cp</i> .			
	mōēd sf	†mede	meed	†mijd
	orēda	crede	creed	krijd
	*brōēdan e — — (ii) <i>G</i> .	brede	breed	brijd
1675	*blōēdan e.	blēden	bleed	blijd
	spōēdde prt	spedde	sped	†sped
	fōēdde prt	†fedde	fed	fed
	blōēdde prt	bledde	bled	bled
	blōēdsian	†blettēenn	blesse	bles
	bledsian <i>VP</i> . bl(o)edsia <i>Du</i> . bl(o)etsian <i>Ru</i> . bledsian, bletsian <i>WS</i> . geblitsad <i>eKt</i> —blettēad <i>Ld</i> . also blettēadd <i>O</i> . blettēigen <i>Lay</i> . blescian <i>AR</i> . blissed <i>Ay</i> . blissed, blissid <i>North</i> . †blyut <i>ptc TM</i> . blissed <i>GE</i> . eblest: best <i>Aud</i> . blisse: kisse, blesse: cursedness <i>Ch</i> . inf of blisse—blessynge, y <i>Td</i> .			
1680	stēpel y <i>lWS</i> .	stepel	steeple	stijpl
	*strēpan y—u <i>Jul</i> . e <i>Ay</i> . e (ee, i) <i>Ch</i> —stripped <i>Td</i> .	strepen	strip	strip
	wōēpan	†wepenn	weep	wijp
	*cōēpan e.	†kepenn	keep	kijp
	†dēpe y <i>lWS</i> — <i>Ch</i> . depe <i>Wid</i> .	depe	depth	depp
1685	*cōēpte e.	†keppte	kept	kept

ēa.

fēa(h) sf	fle	flea	fij
— — (ii) <i>W</i> .			
pēa	peock	pea(cock)	pījkok
<i>Grein</i> . generally pawa—o <i>Ay</i> . e (o) <i>Ch</i> —(poukok) Pockok.			
ēar sn	er(e)	ear	ier
'spica,' eher <i>Du</i> . sehher <i>Ru</i> .—eares <i>pl AR</i> , <i>GE</i> . yere <i>Ay</i> .			

	ēare	†ære	ear	iær
	—yere <i>Ay.</i> —(eer) <i>G.</i> (eer, iir) <i>Bt.</i> (iirwig) <i>Cp.</i>			
1690	sēarian	seren	sear	†sier
	— (ii) <i>Cp.</i>			
	nēar cp	†ner	near	nier
	—neor <i>Lay, Jul.</i> nere: lere <i>vb CM.</i> nere: here <i>adv.</i> nar: war <i>adj TM.</i>			
	neer (nere) <i>Ch</i> —(niir) <i>Sm.</i> (neer, nier) <i>G.</i> (niir) <i>W etc.</i>			
	gēara	gore	yore	†jor
	iara <i>Ru.</i> —z(e)are <i>Lay., AR.</i> yore <i>Ch.</i>			
	tēar	†tær	tear	tier
	tear <i>VP.</i> tear, tæher <i>Du.</i> — (ii) <i>Cp.</i>			
	lēaðor	—	lather	læðer
	leaðorwyr <i>Wgl</i> —leþerede a swote <i>Lay.</i> liþerede <i>Kath.</i>			
1695	dēaþ	†dæþ(þ)	death	deþ
	—ded <i>North.</i> de(a)d:forbead <i>GE.</i> †ded <i>Hv., RBC.</i> †dede, †dethe <i>TM</i> —(ee) <i>G.</i>			
	-lēas	†-læs, -less	-less	-lis
	—-leas (e) <i>AR.</i> -lees <i>Ch</i> —-lesse <i>Td.</i>			
	cēas prt	†chæs	chose	†fouz
	—chæs <i>Lay.</i> cheas, chese: ese <i>sb North.</i> †ches <i>GE., RBC.</i> ches, chos: porpose <i>ALLP.</i> chos <i>Harl.</i> chase, †e <i>TM.</i> chees: douteless <i>Ch</i> —(oo) <i>G.</i>			
	ēast	†æst	east	ijst
	—æst <i>Ld.</i> yeast <i>Ay.</i> —(eest) <i>Jeep</i> Eastcheap <i>Jn.</i>			
	ēastron pl	†æstre	easter	ijster
	—æsterne <i>dat.</i> estren <i>dat. Ld.</i> æst(e)re (easter) <i>nom. Lay.</i> iestre <i>Ay.</i>			
	esterne <i>GE.</i> eastern <i>Prompt.</i> astere <i>Aud.</i>			
1700	hēawan	†hæwenn	hew	†hjuw
	— (heu) <i>Bll, Bt.</i>			
	hrēaw	rau	raw	rø
	pēawas pl	†þæwess	thews	†þjuwz
	'morals.'			
	scēawian	†shæwenn	show, shew	fou
	'survey'—scawe <i>Ld.</i> scæwede, e, a (sewede) <i>Lay.</i> schea(u)wen, schawen (schawi) <i>AR.</i> scaweth, seywinge <i>KS.</i> sse(a)wy <i>Ay.</i> scawe (scau), scawid (sceud), scaun <i>pte:</i> draun <i>CM.</i> shewe: Berthelmewe <i>PC.</i> schau: knau, schewes: thewes (= þēawas) <i>MH.</i> shew: thew, show, a: knaw <i>TM.</i> shauwe: knawe <i>Hv.</i> shewe: rewe 'row' <i>Harl.</i> schew: know <i>Aud.</i> shewe: fewe <i>Ch</i> —shio (showe) <i>HVg.</i> shewe <i>Td.</i> (eu, fouz) <i>G.</i> (uu, eu) <i>Cp.</i> (oou, ou, iu) <i>Jn.</i> (iu, oo) <i>Ld.</i> (oo) <i>Bch, Sd.</i>			
	scrēawa	shrewe	shrew	fruw
	— (friū) <i>EO, Bch.</i> (friū) <i>Sh.</i>			
1705	strēaw	strau	straw	strø
	streaw-, streow-berge <i>Leechd.</i> strewu <i>pl Wgl.</i> streu <i>Ru.</i> —bedstrau <i>SB.</i>			
	strea <i>AR.</i> stra: ga <i>vb, wa Hv.</i> stre: wee (= wēa) <i>Harl.</i> stree: thre, straw <i>Ch.</i> strau <i>PPl.</i> strauberi <i>Prompt.</i> —(au) <i>Sm.</i> (oou) <i>G.</i>			
	fēa(we)	†fæwe	few	fjuw
	—fēu, feuna <i>dat. Ld.</i> feue <i>Lay.</i> feawe <i>Kath.</i> ueawe <i>Ay.</i> vawe, fowe <i>BGL.</i> fone <i>North.</i> : by anal. of hwōn. fo: wo <i>GE.</i> fo: to go <i>RBC</i> —feawe <i>Td.</i> (feu, feeu) <i>G.</i> (feu, fiu) <i>W.</i> (fo) <i>barbare Cp.</i>			

dēaw	†dēaw	dew	djuw
— (deu) <i>Sm.</i>	(deui) dewy <i>G.</i>		
hēafod	†hæfedd	head	hed
— hæued, hefed <i>Ld.</i> heaued, hæued, he(f)ued, haf(u)ed, hæfd, hefð <i>Lay.</i> heued <i>AR, Ay.</i> heued : wened (= gewæfed), hefð <i>MH.</i> heued <i>GE.</i> hede <i>RBC, TM.</i> heed <i>Wicl.</i> heed, heddes <i>pl</i> (heuedes, heedes) <i>Ch</i> —he(e)ddes <i>Td.</i> (e) <i>Sm.</i> (ee) <i>G.</i>			
foran-hēafod	forheved	forhead	forid
— — forheddes <i>Td.</i>			
1710 be-rēafian	bireven	bereave	†birijv
— — (ee) <i>G.</i>			
berēafod ptc	†biræfedd	berest	†bireft
— iræved <i>Lay.</i> ireaved <i>Ay.</i> rest <i>North.</i> biraft : shaft <i>Ch.</i>			
lēaf sn	lef	leaf	lijf
— ea, ia <i>Ay.</i>			
lēaf sf	†lefe	leave	lijv
— e from ælēfan. leave, æ (e) <i>Lay.</i> —(ee) <i>G.</i>			
gelēafa	†læfe	belief	bilijf
— ilæfe <i>Lay.</i> bileaue <i>AR.</i> bileve <i>Ch</i> —ie from gelēfan.			
1715 scēaf	†shæf	sheaf	ſijf
dēaf	†dæf	deaf	def
— deef <i>Ch</i> —(ee) <i>Sm.</i> (ii) <i>EO.</i> (e) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>			
bēan sf	bene	bean	bijn
— — (ee) <i>G.</i>			
sēam	sem	seam	sijm
stēam	stem	steam	stijm
— — (ii) <i>Jn.</i>			
1720 strēam	†stræm	stream	strijm
tēam	†tæm	team	tijm
— — (ii) <i>Jn.</i>			
drēam	†dræm	dream	drijm
‘melody,’ ‘joy’— <i>OI</i> draum ‘dream.’			
bēam	†bæm	beam	bijm
— — (ee) <i>G.</i>			
ēac	†eo	eke	†ijk
ec <i>VP.</i> ec, æc <i>Du., Ru.</i> —eac (eke) <i>Lay.</i> eke <i>Jul.</i> teek, †eke <i>Ch</i> —(iik) <i>G.</i> (eek) <i>Jn.</i>			
1725 hrēac	rek	rick	rik
— — i from <i>Angl.</i> hrēc.			
lēac	lek	leek	lijk
— — (ii) <i>Bll.</i>			
gār-lēac	garleek	garlick	gaalik
cēace	cheke	cheek	†ſijk
ea, eo <i>lWS.</i> e <i>Du., Ru.</i> —cheoke <i>AR.</i> cheake <i>Ay.</i> ee <i>Ch</i> —(ii) <i>Pg.</i>			
bēacen sn	bekne	beacon	bijkæn
becen <i>VP.</i> becon <i>Du.</i> becun <i>Ru.</i> —bocknen rb <i>Harl.</i> —(bekensfjld, ij)			
Beaconsfield.			

- 1730 **bēah** **thēah** **hīgh** **hād**
 bēah VP, Du., Ra.—hæge pl. bēahen Ld. bēahen pl G. he(h)h, bēh, bēah, bēh, pl bēah, bēah, hæge etc (hey, hæge) Ldg. bēah (bēh) AR. hey:dey (= geseah) RGL. bēahleah Ay. bēah, bēh North. hey GE. hey:dey eay Ra. hey:wurpe, hey dey "flow" RBC. hea:ae e, he:body TM. bēh:teah, hæge:dræge (= drægan) Harl. hey AHP. Aud. hīg Wad. heigh, by hīgh, pl hēa: Lamberde Ch.—he Td. (beah, bēh, (bēah, bēah) op G.
- bēahfore** **bēahfre** **bēahfer** **bēahfer**
 also bēahfre—also bēahfre. bēahfre Prompt.—(ae, e) Ja.
- bēah** — **ben** **†bē**
 also bēag.
- bēah** **†bēah** **though** **toū**
 = VP. e, a Du. e, ea Ra. ea, e Past.—bēah, e, bēahfore, bēah Ld. bēahleah O. bēah, e, e(h), a(h) Ldg. bēah (a) AR. hey RGL. hey Ay. though, thof North. thunghe, thof TM. heg GE. jah Harl. hey AHP. thag Aud. though Wad. thof(h) Ch. OI is from *bēah, e.—(toū, toū) Sm. (toūh, toūh) RGL. (toū) G. (toū) Ld.
- nēah** **†nēah** **nigh** **†nai**
 nēah VP, Du., Ra. nēah Ld. nēah, = Ldg. nēah (nēh, nēa) AR. nēi:dey eay RGL. nēah Ay. nēah:deigh (= deigh) (nēi) CM. nēy:by eay RBC. nēh GE—nēi HVG. (nēi) G.
- 1735 **nēah-gebūr** **neighbour** **neighbour** **neiber**
 —neibehar AR. nēahgebur, nēahor Ay. neighbor (neighbour) Ch.—(neibor, neibor) Pr. (ee, ae) Ld. (neibor) EO, Beh, Sh.
- ēage** **†eghe** **eye** **ai**
 = VP, Du. e(a) Ra.—egon pl Ld. egen, egen pl Ldg. eie (ebe) AR. eye Ay. eye:deye vō MH. eyne pl:pyne RBC. ee:bee vō TM. eye Harl. yge:dyge (= deyja), ygen pl:i wene vō AHP. ige Wad. eye (eye, eyghe):melodye Ch—eye Td. (ei) Sm, G.
- lēag** f **leie** **lye** **lai**
 —l(e)ie Prompt.
- flēag prt** **†flēah** **flew** **fluw**
 flēg VP—e Ldg. hey fleh: on hey RBC. fly, fleigh, flaugh (fley, fleegh) Ch—(yy) G.
- prēatīan** **preten** **threat(en)** **pret(n)**
 — — (pretn) Bl. (preet, preetn) G.
- 1740 **grēat** **†grāt** **great** **greit**
 — — grett Td. (greet) 'magnus,' (greet) 'ingens' G. (ee) Op. (ū) EO. (ee) Beh, Sh.
- bēatan** **†bætenn** **beat** **bijt**
 — — (ee) G. (beetn) pte Mg.
- rēad** **reed** **red** **red**
 — — (e) Sm.
- lēad** **leed** **lead** **led**
 — — (ee) Sm.
- scrēadian** **schreden** **shred** **fred**
- 1745 **dēad** **†dæd** **dead** **ded**
 —dyad Ay. deed:breed (= ēa) Ch. didle Aud.—(ee) G.
- brēad** **†bræd** **bread** **bred**
 —bread, bryad Ay.—(ee) Sm, G.

hēap —ea, <i>ya Ay.</i> —(ee) <i>G.</i>	†hæp	heap	hijp
hlēapan —lhaepe <i>Ay.</i> —(ee) <i>G.</i>	†læpenn	leap	lijp
stēap — — (ii) <i>G.</i>	†stæp	steep	stijp
1750 cēap sn ‘purchase’—guodcheap ‘cheap’ <i>Ay.</i>	chep	cheap	†fijp
*cēap-faru sf faru ‘journey’—cheffare <i>AR.</i>	chaffare	chaffer	†tfæfer
cēap-mann —chepmon, a <i>Lay.</i>	†chappmann	chapman	†fæpmen
	<i>chepmon AR.</i>	<i>chapman PPl, Ch.</i>	

ēo.

hlēo ‘shelter.’ hleow <i>WS.</i>	le	lee	lij
prēo eo, ie, y <i>WS</i> —pre(o) <i>Ld, Lay.</i>	†pre(o)	three	prij
	<i>preo AR. prie KS. pri Ay. thre North.</i> —(ii) <i>G.</i> (prepens) <i>Jn</i> ; (pripins) <i>Mg, Bch</i> ; (pripens) <i>Sh</i> threepence. (pripini) <i>Bch</i> ; (pripeni) <i>Sh</i> threepenny—(pripens); <i>ry</i> (prepens). (pripeni).		
1755 sēo fem hēo ‘she’ sēo ‘that one,’ ‘the’—scæ <i>Ld.</i> heo, hoe, he, ha (geo) <i>Lay.</i>	sche	she	fij
	<i>hēo, þēo AR. hi, zi Ay. gho O. æc(h)o:dō North. aho:do Hv. sche: to be, scheo RBC. sge, she: þē, g(h)e GE. sche Aud. shee: beautee Ch.</i>		
gesēon —he se(o)ð <i>Ld.</i>	†se(o)n	see	sij
	<i>iseon AR. z(y)eþ pl, yai inf Ay. æc(he):thre MH</i>		
	<i>—wi sin HVg. (sii), (siin) ptc G.</i>		
frēo freo, frig <i>WS</i> —freo <i>Ld, Lay., AR</i> —(ii) <i>G.</i>	†fre	free	frij
flēo vb	†fle(o)n	flee	fij
	<i>—fle(o)n Lay. fleon AR. vleþ pl, beuly inf Ay. fle:me MH. fle:be vð RBC. flee: thee Ch.</i>		
cnēo cneow <i>WS.</i>	†cnes, cnewwess pl	knee	nij
	<i>cneu Ru.—also o cnewwe O. cneo(u)wen, cneon (cnowes, cnouwes) pl Lay. knee North. knowes, knees Ch—(nhii) Cp, Ld.</i>		
1760 glēo gliig <i>Past.</i> —gleo <i>Lay., AR.</i>	gle	glee	glij
	<i>gleu: breu (= brēowan) MH. gle: uanite CM. gleu: greu prt Hv. glew: knew prt GE.</i>		
trēo tre(o)w, treo, <i>gen.</i> tres, <i>pl</i> trew, treo <i>VP.</i>	†tre(o)	tree	trij
	<i>tre(o), treu Du. treow Ru., WS—treowwess pl O. treo, pl treo(we)n (troues) Lay. trau Ay. tre North. tre: be, pl treen GE.</i>		
bēo sf	be	bee	bij
bēo vb	†be(o)n	be	bij
	<i>—ben Ld. beon, pl beoð, buð Lay. beon AR. bi(en) inf, ib(y)e</i>		

- pte KS.* by *inf*, *byeþ pl Ay.* *buen*, *be(o)n Harl.* *ze bun Aud.*—
(*bi*) *G.*
- hlēor sn* *ler(e)* *leer* *liēr*
'cheek'—*leor AR.* *lure Harl.*
- 1765 *dēor* †*de(o)r* *deer* *dier*
'wild beast'—*der, æ Ld.* *dor Hom.* *de(o)r Lay.* *deor, duer Harl.*
—(*diir*) *G.*
- dēore adj* †*de(o)re* *dear* *dier*
ie, y WS—dære Ld. *eo, u Lay.* *eo AR.* *diere, dyere Ay.*—*deare Td.* (*ii*) *Sm.* (*ee*) *not (ii) Bt.* (*diir, dier, deer*) *G.* (*diir*) *W etc.*
(*diir, der*) *Jn.*
- dēorling* †*derrlinng* *darling* *daalij*
e Du. *y lWS—eo Lay., AR.* *e Wicl.* *a Aud.* *e, a TM—derlinge Td.* (*ee*) *not (a) dearling Bt.*
- drēorig* †*drerig* *dreary* *drieri*
—*u, (e) Lay.* *eo AR.* *dririhed GE.*
- bēor* *ber* *beer* *bier*
—(*bier*) *G.*
- 1770 *fēorþa* †*fe(o)rpæ* *fourth* *fōþ*
—*veorðe AR.* *uerþe Ay.* *e North., GE.* *furþe Harl.* *fourt TM.*
ferthe (ee, ou) Ch—(oou) G. (*au*) *Pr.* (*uu*) *Cp.* *Jn.* *EO.* (*oo*) *Ld.*
Bch. *Sh.*
- fēorþling* *ferthing* *farthing* *faaþing*
feorðung Du.—*farthyng TM—a Td.* *e Ck.* (*færðing*) *Cp.* (*fæærðin*)
Bch. (*fæærðing*) *Sh—(faadin) vg.*
- †*stjōrn sf* *sterne* *stern* *stœn*
'steering.'
- hrēol* *rel* *reel* *rijl*
- hwēol* †*whe(o)l* *wheel* *whijl*
also hweowol, hwe(o)gol—hweol AR. *huezal Ay.*
- 1775 *gēola* †*gol* *yule* *tjuwl*
—*inþ of Scand.* *jōl.* *geoldæi Lay.* *yołnight MH—(juul) Bch.*
- fēoll prt* †*fell* *fell* *fel*
—*feol (u), feollen (volle) pl Lay.* *uolle: helle Hom.* *iuel KS.* *vīl Ay.*
fell: tell CM. *fel (u) PPl.* †*fil, e Ch.*
- hēold prt* †*held* *held* *held*
—*e(a), (e)o Ld.* *eo, u (e) Lay.* *eo AR.* *e KS.* *i Ay.* *e (u) PPl.*
e(i) North. *e GE.* *helde pl: schelde RBC.* *u Harl.* *heeld Ch—*
(*hild*) *barbare Cp.*
- sēoþan* *seþen* *seethe* *sijð*
- for-lēosan* †*le(o)senn* *lose* *luwz*
—*eo (ea) Lay.* *eo AR.* *he l(e)ost, lust ON.* *ie KS.* *ye Ay.* *e North.,*
Aud., Ch. *eo Harl.* *e, o Wicl.* *lo(y)se: hose sb TM—lose Td.*
looseth Ck.
- 1780 *frēosan* *fresen* *freeze* *frijz*
— (*ii*) *G.*
- flēos* *fles* *fleece* *flijs*
- fnēosan* *fnesen* *sneeze* *snijz*
—*fneseth (sneseth) Ch—(niiz) Sm.*

- cōsan** †chesenn choose tʃuwz
 —cesen *Ld.* eo *Lay.*, *AR.* ie, ye *Ay.* e *North.*, *GE.* *Ch.* *Wicl.*
also u—u *Ch.* (yy) *G.* (tʃuuz) *Mg.*
- prēost** †pre(o)st priest prijt
 —preste, i (ei): neste *superl. CM.* pruest *Harl.* e, i, y *Aud.*
- 1785 **brēost** †bre(o)st breast brest
 —(e)o *Lay.* eo *AR.* ye *Ay.* ee *Wicl.* breast: fest (= y), lest 'desire,'
 fest 'feast,' brist (e) *Ch.*—(brestplest) *Jn.*
- ēow** ew yew juw
also iw — (yy) *Sm.*
- ēow** †guw you juw
iu(i)h *Du.* eow, *iu Ru.*—(e)ou, oeu, zeow (zou, ou) *Lay.* ou *AR.* zow
Procl. ou, eu *ON.* yw *KS.* giu (yow): Ihesu *CM.* yow: now *Hr.*
 gu *GE.* ou *Harl.* yow *AllP.* zow: knowe *inf Aud.* yow: now *Ch.*
 —yw, yo *HVg.* (juu, jou) *G.* (jiu, jou) *Cp.* (juu) *Ld.*
- ēower** †gure your juer
iuer Du. e(o)wer *Ru.*—eour, euwer, ower *Hom.* ower *AR.* yure *KS.*
 giur (yur) *CM.* gure *GE.* o(u)r *Harl.* zour *Aud.* youre *Ch.*—ywr
HVg. (juur) *G.* (jur) *Cp.*
- hēow sn** †hewe hue hjuw
hiw WS.
- 1790 **hrēowan** †reowenn rue truw
 —rew: new, thou rues, rufully *TM*—(ryy) *Pg.* *G.*
- prēow prt** preu threw pruw
ēowan sewen sew sou
siuuid Ep. siuwid *Cp.* i, y *WS.* siuieð *Du.* siowes *Ru.*—seouwen
AR. sewe (seu) *CM.* sowed (swed, sewed) *Ch.*—(seu) *Bt.* (soou) *G.*
 (siu, soo) *Ld.* (soo) *Bch.* *Sh.*
- fēower** †fowwerr four for
feor Du.—fower *Ld.* f(e)o(u)wer, f(e)our *Lay.* uo(u)r *AR.* uour *Ay.*
 four, faur *North.* foure *TM.* four *Harl.* fawre *AllP.*—(oou) *G.*
 (ou) *Cp.* (oo) *Ld.*
- fēowertāne** fourtene fourteen fōtɪjn
 — (oou) *G.*
- 1795 **fēowertāne-niht** fourteenight fortnight fōtnait
fēowertig †fowwertig forty fōti
 —feowerti *Lay.* fowrti *Jul.* furti *KS.* uourti *Ay.* fourti (forti) *CM.*
 faurty *MH.* *AllP.* fourti *TM.*—fourtye *Td.* (u) *G.* (oo) *Ld.*
- nēowe** †ne(o)we new njuw
io, eo GP. *Ru.* niwe *Du.*, *WS.*—neuun *Ld.* neowe *Lay.*, *AR.* newe
Kt. neu *North.*—(nyy) *G.* (nyy, neu, niu) *W.* (niu) *Bch.* *Sh.*
 (nuu) *Fr.*
- cēowan** †chewwenn chew tʃuw
 — (tʃiu) *Cp.* (oo, oou, iu, oo) *Jn.* (iu, oo) *Ld.* (uu, oo) *Sh.*
 —(oo) *eg.*
- crēow prt** creu crew krow
 1800 **clēowe** clewe clew kluw
 — (yy) *Pg.*

cnēow prt	†ene(o)w	knew	njuw
—knew <i>Ay.</i> , <i>North.</i> <i>bicno</i> <i>ALLP.</i> <i>knoghe</i> ; <i>enoghe</i> <i>TM.</i> <i>kneg</i> <i>Wiel.</i> —(yy) <i>G.</i> (<i>knny</i>) <i>W.</i> (<i>nhiu</i>) <i>CP.</i>			
grēow prt	greu	grew	gruw
trēowe	†trowwe	true	truw
<i>tre(o)we</i> <i>VP.</i> <i>eo</i> , <i>eu</i> , <i>trew</i> <i>Ra.</i> <i>ie</i> , <i>y</i> <i>WS</i> — <i>treo(u)we</i> (<i>trew</i>) <i>Lay.</i> <i>trew</i> (<i>eo</i>) <i>AR.</i> <i>triwe</i> <i>BGL.</i> <i>trew</i> <i>Ay.</i> <i>trew</i> (<i>treu</i>): <i>neu</i> , <i>truli</i> (<i>truli</i>) <i>CM.</i> <i>trew</i> <i>GE.</i> <i>Harl.</i> <i>trwe</i> <i>ALLP.</i> <i>trew</i> , <i>truli</i> <i>Aud.</i> <i>trew</i> : <i>blew</i> 'blue,' <i>truly</i> <i>TM.</i> <i>tr(e)ali</i> <i>Wiel.</i> <i>trew</i> : <i>newe</i> <i>Ch</i> — <i>truely</i> <i>Td.</i> (<i>yy</i>) <i>G.</i> (<i>iu</i>) <i>CP.</i> <i>Beh.</i> (<i>ua</i>) <i>Fr.</i> <i>Sh.</i>			
trēowian	†trowwenn	trow	†tran
— <i>tr(e)owen</i> (<i>trouen</i>) <i>Lay.</i> (<i>trowen</i>) <i>AR.</i> <i>tru</i> (<i>tran</i>): <i>nu</i> <i>CM.</i> <i>trow</i> <i>PC.</i> <i>tro</i> : <i>dō</i> <i>He.</i> <i>trowen</i> , <i>e</i> <i>GE.</i> <i>trawen</i> , <i>tryge</i> : <i>yge</i> , <i>trow</i> <i>ALLP.</i> <i>trowe</i> : <i>bowe</i> (= <i>boga</i>), <i>þey</i> <i>trowd</i> (<i>troð</i>): <i>God</i> <i>RBC.</i> <i>traw</i> : <i>draw</i> , <i>trow</i> : <i>now</i> <i>TM.</i> <i>trowe</i> : <i>growe</i> (= <i>ōw</i>), <i>blowe</i> (= <i>āw</i>) <i>Ch</i> — <i>tro</i> <i>HVG.</i> <i>Sh.</i> (<i>ouu</i>) <i>G.</i>			
1805 brēowan	brewen	brew	bruw
— (yy) <i>Sm.</i> , <i>W.</i>			
blēow prt	bleu	blew	bluw
'blew,' 'bloomed.'			
*hrēowþ	reuþe	ruth	†truwþ
— <i>reouþe</i> (<i>reuþe</i>) <i>Lay.</i> <i>reouþe</i> <i>AR.</i> <i>reuþe</i> <i>Ay.</i> <i>eu</i> <i>North.</i> <i>ew</i> <i>GE.</i> <i>ou</i> <i>Harl.</i> , <i>au</i> <i>ALLP.</i> <i>routhe</i> : <i>slouthe</i> , <i>eu</i> (<i>au</i>) <i>Ch</i> —(<i>yy</i>) <i>G.</i> (<i>u</i>) <i>Beh.</i> (<i>uu</i>) <i>Sh.</i>			
trēowþ	†trowwþe	{ truth troth	truwþ †troup
— <i>treuthe</i> , <i>eo</i> <i>Ld.</i> <i>treowþe</i> , <i>treuweþe</i> (<i>treuþe</i>) <i>Lay.</i> <i>trouþe</i> <i>AR.</i> <i>treuþe</i> <i>BGL.</i> <i>Ay.</i> <i>trouþe</i> <i>CM.</i> <i>trouþe</i> , <i>au</i> , <i>ew</i> <i>MH.</i> <i>trawþe</i> : <i>slawþe</i> , (<i>o</i>) <i>u</i> <i>TM.</i> <i>trewþe</i> <i>GE.</i> <i>treuþe</i> , <i>ou</i> <i>Harl.</i> <i>trawþe</i> <i>ALLP.</i> <i>trowth</i> , <i>eu</i> <i>Aud.</i> — <i>trueth</i> , <i>eu</i> , <i>truwþ</i> , <i>ou</i> <i>Td.</i> (<i>yy</i> , <i>u</i> !) <i>G.</i> (<i>bitroþ</i>) <i>betroth</i> <i>Pr.</i> (<i>uu</i>) <i>Beh.</i> , <i>Sh.</i>			
lēof	leef	lief	†lijf
— <i>luef</i> <i>Harl.</i>			
1810 lēof mann	lemman	lemman	†lemen
— <i>leofinon</i> <i>Lay.</i> , <i>AR.</i> <i>lemman</i> <i>Ay.</i> , <i>Ch.</i>			
þēof	þef	thief	þijf
— <i>þefas</i> <i>Ld.</i> <i>þyef</i> , <i>þief</i> <i>Ay.</i> —(ii) <i>G.</i>			
clēofan	cleven	cleave	klijv
— (ii) <i>Sm.</i> (<i>ee</i>) <i>G.</i>			
dēofol	†defell	devil	devl
<i>diobul</i> , <i>diowl</i> , <i>diwl</i> , <i>diul</i> <i>Du.</i> — <i>dyeuel</i> <i>Ay.</i> <i>devel</i> <i>North.</i> <i>diuel</i> <i>Best.</i> <i>deville</i> , <i>dewille</i> , <i>dwyll</i> <i>TM</i> — <i>devyll</i> , <i>dyvell</i> <i>Td.</i> <i>devel</i> <i>Ch.</i> (<i>diivil</i>) <i>Sm.</i> (<i>devl</i>) <i>CP.</i> (<i>diwl</i> , <i>dil</i> , <i>del</i>) <i>Jn.</i> (<i>devl</i>) <i>Beh.</i> , <i>Sh.</i>			
betwēonan	†bitwenenn	between	bitwijn
— <i>betwenen</i> <i>Ld.</i> <i>bitweonen</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>bitueizen</i> (<i>bitwine</i>) <i>Lay.</i> <i>betuene</i> <i>KS.</i> —(ii) <i>G.</i>			
1815 *gebēon ptc	iben	been	bi(j)n
— byn <i>Td.</i> (ii) <i>G.</i> (i) <i>Jn.</i> , <i>Ld.</i>			
fēond	†fend	fiend	fjnd
— <i>u(y)end</i> <i>Ay.</i> <i>fynd</i> : <i>kynd</i> <i>adj</i> <i>Aud.</i> — <i>ffynd</i> <i>HVG.</i> (ii) <i>W.</i> (i) <i>J.</i>			

- frēond †frend friend friend
 —ur(y)end *Ay.* friend: hend *CM.* ey *TM.* y *Aud.* ee *Wicl., Ch—*
ffrynd HVg. friendly *Td.* (i) *G.* (ii) *Bt.* (ii, i, e) *Jn.* (frenli,
 frenſip) *Jn.* (friind) *EO.* (e) *Beh, Sh.*
- sēoc †se(o)c sick sik
 e *Du., Ru.* eo, e, æ, u (ea) *Lay.* sec, þe sike, si(e)knesse *AR.* sik, zik
Kt. sek: chēk *MH.* seke: speke *TM.* seke *Aud.* sijk, sek *Wicl.*
 seeke *pl:* seke *vð,* sik: phisik *Ch—*sicke, e *Td.*
- †mjūk †meoc meek mijk
 1820 þēoh †þe(o)s pl thigh þai
 —þeh, þih *Lay.* þeo: beo *ON.* þe: to be *RBC.* thee: me *TM.* thi
Prompt. the *Ch—*(þih) *BL.*
- leoht sn, adj †lihht sb, adj light lait
 'bright(ness).' e *VP, Du.* eo, e, i *Ru.—*liht *adj Ld.* liht *Lay., AR.*
 liht: night *ON.* lizt *Ay.* lyht: syht, lyt: syt (= siteþ) *Harl.*
- leoht †lihht light lait
 'levis.' e *Du.* i *Ru.—*leht, i *Lay.* liht *AR.* lizt *Ay.—*(liht, leit) *Sm.*
- lēogan †lēghenn lie lai
 'mentiri.' e, i *VP.* e *Du.* i *Ru.—*lizen (e) *Lay.* lizen (lihen) *AR.*
 legghen *KS.* l(y)ege *Ay.* þu leies (lighes) *CM.* lye *PC.* †ly *TM.*
 ley: fley ('flew' *pl*) *RBC.* legen *GE.* †lye *Harl.* †lie *Ch—*(lai) *G.*
- flēogan †fleghenn fly flai
 e *VP, Du.—*fleon *Lay.* vleon *AR.* vli, he vliþ *Ay.* fleie (fli) *CM.*
 fly: ly (= licað) *TM.* fleie: heie (high *adv*) *RBC.* fle: free *Ch.*
- 1825 flēoge sf flie fly flai
 —fle(o)ge (fleie) *Lay.* vlize (flehe) *AR.* vleze *Ay.* flege *GE.* fle-wing
TM. fleze (fie) *Wicl.* †fie *Ch.*
- gēogup sf guzeþe youth juwþ
 iuguð, gugup *VP—*guzeðe *Lay.* zuweðe *AR.* yezeþe *Ay.* y.uthē:
 mouthe *MH.* youthe: nowthe (= nū þā) *Ch—*(au) *Bt.* (yy) *G.*
 (iu) *Cp.* (u) *Jn.*
- tēo(go)þian tīþen tithe taið
 teigðega *Du.* tægþigan *Ru.* teoði(g)ian *IWS—*teoþegen *AR.* teðien
Hom. teþen (i) *PPL.* i *Prompt.—*(taiþ) *Ld.*
- þrēotēne †þrittene thirteen þeetijn
 scēotan †shetenn shoot fuwt
 —eo *Lay., AR.* e *GE, Wicl., Prompt., †Ch.* also u. shotes *TM.*
- 1830 flēote flete fleet flijt
 flūte 'ratis' *Erfyl—*eo *Lay.*
- bēot prt beet beat bijt
 —eo *AR—*(e) *Sm.*
- hrēod red reed rijd
 wēod wed weed wijd
 hēope hepe hips hips
 'dog-rose.'
- 1835 stēop(fæder) step- step- step-
 crēopan crepen creep krijp
 — — (ii) *G.*
- dēop †de(o)p deep dijp
 — — (ii) *G.*

I.

	ti	†bi	by	bai
	only <i>adr</i> —be, bi <i>prp</i> <i>Ld.</i>	be, bie <i>prp</i> <i>KS.</i>	be, by <i>prp</i> <i>Ay.</i>	be <i>prp</i>
	<i>And.</i> —(bi) <i>Sm.</i>	(bei) <i>G.</i>		
	iren	†irenn	iron	aien
	isern <i>Ep.</i> ise(r)n, iren <i>VP</i> —irrene <i>adj</i> <i>O.</i> isen <i>Ay.</i> —yeron <i>Td.</i> (eiern)			
	<i>G.</i> (eiern, ern) <i>Jn.</i>			
1840	scir sf	shire	shire	faier, -fier
	— (wusterfiir) <i>G.</i> (fiir) <i>Cp, Jn, EO, Ld, Bck.</i> (foir) <i>SA.</i> (ii) <i>weak form.</i>			
	scir-gercōfa	schirreve	sheriff	serif
	spir	spire	spire	spaier
	hreodes spir <i>Leechd.</i>			
	wir	wir	wire	waier
	hwil sf	while	while	whail
1845	þā-hwile-þe	†hwil	{ while whilst	whail whailst
	—also <i>wilenn</i> <i>O.</i> þa while <i>Lay.</i> þeo hwile <i>AR.</i> þe wule þe <i>RGL.</i>			
	whiles <i>PC.</i> wile, quiles ðat <i>GE</i> —hwil <i>Td.</i> (hweil, hweils, hwile)			
	<i>Sm.</i>			
	fil sf	file	file	fall
	eo <i>WS.</i>			
	mīl sf	mile	mile	mail
	pīl	—	pile	pail
	pīlas ‘hairs of plants’ <i>Leechd.</i>			
	pīl	pīl	pile	pail
	‘javelin,’ ‘stake.’			
1850	liþe	†liþe	lithe	laið
	‘gentle.’			
	eiþe	sipe	scythe	saið
	wriþan	wriþen	writhe	raið
	— (raiþ) <i>Ld.</i>			
	†tiþindi snpl	†tiþennde	tidings	taidings
	—tiðinde, tidende, tidinge <i>Lay.</i> tiðinge <i>AR.</i> tithand <i>North.</i> tiding			
	<i>GE.</i> tydand: Scotland, tydings: offrynges <i>RBC.</i>			
	blīþe	†bliþe	blithe	†blaið
	— (bleiþ) <i>Cp.</i>			
1855	is	is	ice	ais
	ā-risan	†risenn	rise	rais
	wis	†wis	wise	wais
	— (weis) <i>Sm.</i> (weiz) <i>G.</i>			
	reht-wis	†rihtwis	righteous	†raitfes
	—rihtwis <i>Lay., AR.</i> rihtwis <i>Wicl.</i> —rightewesness <i>Td.</i> (reixteus) <i>G.</i>			
	(raitius, raiteus) <i>Jn.</i> (raitfes) <i>Ld.</i>			
	wise sf	†wise	wise	wais

- 1860 **on-grialis** †grisselig **grisly** †grisli
also y (= æ?)—grialich Lay., AR, Ay. gris(e)li PC. also e—(greizli) G.
Crist †crisť **Christ** **kraist**
— kreist HVg.
cristen-dōm †crisstenndom **Christendom** **kriandem**
cristnian †crisstnenn **christen** **krian**
***Cristes-mæsse** **cristesmesse** **christmas** **krismes**
— Ay. cristemasse Ch—(kriasmæs) Jn.
- 1865 **grist** **grist** **grist** **grist**
wis-dōm †wisedom **wisdom** **wisdem**
— (wiizdum) Bll. (wizdum) G. (æ) Ld.
hiwa **hine** **hind** †haind
'inmate of family'—hinen pl Lay. n fr ppl hiwena (?).
þriwa †þrig(ess) **thrice** †þrais
þri(g)a Du. þrige, þriwa, þriowa Ru.—þrie(n), þreie, þreien (þriæ) Lay. þries AR, Ay. þrise: wise CM. thrice Ch.
spiwan **spewen** **spew** **spjuw**
not in Engl.—speowen; spi imper. AR. spuyd ptc TM.
- 1870 **tiwes-dæg** **tiwesdai** **tuesday** **tjuwadi**
— (tiuzdi) Bch. (tjuuzdee) Sh.
twiwa †twigess **twice** **twais**
twiga Du., Ru. tuwa Or.—twiges Ld. tw(e)ien (twie) Lay. twien, twie (twies) AR. tuyes Ay. twice GE.
iflg †ivi **ivy** **aivi**
lif †lif **life** **laif**
on life **on live** **alive** **elaiv**
- 1875 **þrifask** **þriven** **thrive** **þraiv**
scrifan †shrifenn **shrive** †fraiv
***stif** **stif** **stiff** **stif**
stifian 'stiffen.' stij 'stiff'—ii CM.
wif †wif **wife** **waif**
wif-mann { †wifmann } **woman** **wumen**
 { †wimmann }
wimman late—wimman Ld. wifmon, wim(m)on Lay. wummon AR. wyman KS. wyfmanne d. Ay. wimman, wom(m)an CM. woman, weman PC. wynnmon, wommon Harl. wemon Aud.—(wuman) G. (wuuman) Bt. (wemæn) Pr. (umæn) Jn. (wemæn) EO. (æ) not so obscure as in brother etc Ld. (wæmin) Bch. (wumæn) Sh—rg (umæn).
- 1880 **wif-menn** †wifmenn **women** **wimin**
— wimmen Ld. wummen AR. wyfmen Ay. wimmen MH. wymmen Harl. wominnen Ch—wemen Td. (wimen, wiimen) G. (wiimen) Pr. (wimen) Cp. (wimin) Bch, Sh.
fif †fif **five** **faiv**
fife pl—fyf, fyve Ch—(fipens) fivence Jn—older and rg (fipens).
fifta †fifte **fifth** **fifp**
—fifthe (fyfte) Ch—fyfte Td. (fift) G.

	†cnif <i>late; fr Scand. knif (1).</i>	cnif	knife	naif
	drifan	†drifenn	drive	draiv
1885	fiftig	†fiftig	fifty	fifti
	line	line	line	lain
	linen adj <i>—linen AR, Ay.</i>	linen	linen	linin
		line(n) <i>Wicl.</i>	linen <i>Lay., CM, PPI.</i>	
	þin	†þi(n)	thine, thy	†ðai(n)
	swin	†swin	swine	swain
1890	scinan	†shinenn	shine	ʃain
	scrin	schrin	shrine	ʃrain
	wīn	†win	wine	wain
	hwinan	whinen	whine	whain
	mīn	†mi(n)	my, mine	mai(n)
1895	twīn	twīn	twine	twain
	†dwinan <i>— (dwinl) Jn.</i>	dwinen	dwindle	dwindl
	pinian <i>‘torture.’</i>	†pinenn	pine	pain
	pin-trēo	pine	pine	pain
	līn-sæd	linsed	linseed	linsjɔd
1900	rīm sn	†rīme	rhyme	raim
	hrīm	rim	rime	†raim
	līm	†lim	lime	laim
	slīm	slim	slime	slaim
	tīma	†tīme	time	taim
	gelīc	†lic	like	laik
	<i>— (i) Sm. (oi) G.</i>			
1905	†sīcan	†sikenn	sigh	sai
	<i>—siken, sichen Lay. siken Ch—(sih, sei) Sm. (sai, sei) Jn. (sai) Ld. (sai), better (sei) Bch. (soih) Sh.</i>			
	†snīcan	sniken	sneak	snijk
	scric	—	shrike	ʃraik
	strīcan <i>‘glide.’</i>	striken	strike	straik
	dic sm	{ dik dich	dyke ditch	daik ditʃ
	<i>‘trench’—dic(h) Lay. diche pl: riche adj Moral Ode. dich Ay. dik G.E. dyche, dyke: lyke TM all=‘trench’—deitsys ‘ditches’ Sh.</i>			
1910	pīc	pik	pike	paik
	a-lihtan	alihten	alight	elait
	hīgian <i>—hih sb O.</i>	†highenn	hie	†hai
	stīg-weard	stiward	steward	stjuəd
	<i>—Ld, AR, Prompt.</i>			

	stig-rāp	stirop	stirrup	stirep
1915	snite — <i>Wiel.</i> snipe <i>Prompt.</i>	snite	snipe	snaip
	smitan 'smear.'	smiten	smite	†smait
	†set-witan 'reproach' <i>sb</i> edwit—edwit, ædwit <i>Lay.</i> edwit <i>AR.</i> etwiten, edwiten <i>AR.</i>	atwiten	twit	†twit atwiten <i>Lay., Ay.</i>
	writan	†writenn	write	rait
	hwit	whit	white	whait
1920	mite	mite	mite	maît
	bitan	†bitenn	bite	baît
	idel	†idell	idle	aidl
	hi'(g)id sfn 'measure of land.'	hide	hide	†haidl
	ridan	†ridenn	ride	raid
1925	side	†side	side	said
	alidan	aliden	alide	alaid
	stridan	striden	stride	straid
	wid	†wid	wide	waïd
	cidan	chiden	chide	†tfaïd
1930	glidan	gliden	glide	glaid
	tid sf	†tid	tide	taïd
	bidan	biden	bide	†baïd
	bridel —bridledd <i>O.</i>	bridel	bridle	braidl
	ripe	ripe	ripe	raip
1935	wipian	wipen	wipe	waip
	gripan	gripen	gripe	graip
	pipe	pipe	pipe	paip

ū.

	hū —hu <i>Lay.</i> h(w)u <i>AR.</i> hu, quhu <i>GE.</i> hu, wu <i>Best.</i> <i>inf.</i> of hwj— how <i>HVg.</i>	†hu	how	hau
	þū	†þu	thou	†þau
1940	nū	†nu	now	nau
	cū	cu	cow	kau
	†būask 'prepare oneself'—also <i>o.</i>	busken	busk	†baak
	brū sf	bruwe	brow	brau
	ture	†ture	our	auer
	— owr, our <i>HVg.</i> (our) <i>G.</i> (ouer) <i>Bt.</i>			

	†grūfa vb 'crouch'—also u—(grwliŋ) <i>EO</i> .	grovelinge (grovliŋ) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>	grovel (grovliŋ) <i>Bch, Sh.</i>	grovl
	†hāre-hūne	horehune	{ hore hoar }	hound' hør(h)aund
1970	tūn	†tun	town	taun
	dūn sf	†dun	down	daun
	of-dūne adv	†dun	down	daun
	also dunestigan 1'P—dun <i>Ld.</i> dunnwarrd <i>O.</i> down, donward <i>RGl, PC</i> —down <i>HVg.</i>			
	†dūn 'feathers.'	doun	down	daun
	pūnian — <i>Wicl.</i>	po(u)nen	pound	paund
1975	†būin ptc 'ready.'	†bun	bound	baund
	brūn	brun	brown	braun
	rūm — — roume <i>Td.</i>	†rum (uu) <i>Bl.</i>	room	rum
	þūma —þoume <i>Ay.</i>	þume thoumbe <i>Prompt.</i>	thumb thombe (thome) <i>Ch.</i>	þam
	plūme	ploume	plum	plam
1980	sūcan —zouke <i>Ay.</i> sowke: crowke <i>Ch.</i> —swiking <i>HVg.</i>	suken souklinges <i>Ch.</i>	suck ou <i>Wicl., TM.</i>	sak sokin <i>Prompt.</i> —
	brūcan 'enjoy'—bruk(i)en <i>Lay.</i>	†brukenn ou <i>Ch.</i> —(uu) <i>G.</i>	brook	†bruk
	rūh —rough <i>North., TM.</i>	†ruh ru: Esau <i>GE.</i>	rough rough <i>Ch., Wicl.</i> —(ref) <i>W etc.</i>	raf
	†hunig-sūge —honisocle <i>Prompt.</i>	hunisucce honeysuckle	honeysuckle	hanisakl
	†kūga 'subdue.'	—	cow	kau
1985	drūgaþ	†druhhþe	drought	draut, drot
	—drugþe <i>Ay.</i> drugte <i>GE.</i> droughþe, dro(u)ghte <i>PPl.</i> droghte (ou) <i>Ch.</i> —(drøut) <i>Mg.</i> (eu, oo, oo) <i>Jn.</i> (draupt) <i>Ld.</i> (ou) <i>Bch, Sh.</i> (dræuti) <i>Bch</i> , (drouti) <i>Sh</i> droughty.			
	būgan — — (bou) <i>Sm, G.</i>	†bughenn (buu) <i>Bl.</i>	bow (bou) 'torqueo' <i>Cp.</i>	bau (bau) <i>Ld.</i>
	ūt — — owt <i>HVg.</i>	†ūt	out	aut
	ymb-ūtan also onbutan — — (about) <i>G.</i>	abuten (æbut) <i>Cp.</i>	about (bent) <i>Jn.</i>	ebaut
	ūterre cp —utter <i>AR, PC, Ch.</i>	utter outtreste (outreste) <i>Ch.</i>	utter	ater
1990	wip-ūtan	†wipþutenn	without	wiðaut
	lūtan	†lútenn	lout	laut
	clūt	†clut	clout	klaut

būtan	†butenn	but	bat
—bote <i>Ld.</i> also bāt(i), butt <i>O.</i>	bente, buten, bot(n) <i>Lay.</i>	bote(u)	
<i>AR.</i> bote <i>Ay.</i>	bot, u <i>North.</i>	boute <i>prp.</i> , bote <i>conj.</i>	<i>Harl.</i> —butt <i>Td.</i>
prūt	prud	proud	praud
—prut (ou) <i>Lay.</i>	†prout <i>RGL.</i>	prud <i>AR.</i>	proud <i>Ay.</i> †prad <i>GE.</i>
proud <i>Ch.</i>			
1995 ūder	udder	udder	ader
—addir, iddir <i>Prompt.</i>			
hlūd	†lhude av	loud	laud
scrūd	†shrud	shroud	fraud
crūdan	cruden	crowd	kraud
‘press.’			
elūd	†elud	cloud	kland
‘rock.’			
2000 ūp	†upp	up	ap
upp by <i>infl.</i> of uppan—oppe, þerop <i>Ay.</i>			
sūpan	soupen	sup	sap
— <i>Prompt.</i>			
stūpian	stupen	stoop	stuwþ
—u (ou) <i>Lay.</i> ou <i>Ay., PC, Ch.</i> —(uu) <i>Cp.</i>			
drūpa	drupen	droop	druwþ
‘be dejected’—drupand (ou) <i>CM.</i> ou <i>Ch.</i>			

ȳ.

†akȳ sn	skie	sky	skai
‘cloud.’	<i>OE</i> wolcen—also skewes <i>pl.</i>		
2005 hwȳ	†whi	why	whai
cȳ pl	kyn	kine	†kain
—ken <i>Ay.</i> ky(e) <i>North.</i> kyen <i>Wicl.</i> keen (kyn) <i>Ch.</i>			
†byegan	†biggenn	buy	bai
<i>imper.</i> byge—buggen (i), buze <i>imper. Lay.</i>	beggen, he bayþ <i>Ay.</i>	†bie	
<i>North., TM.</i> by(y)e <i>ALLP.</i> bigen <i>GE.</i> abegge:legge, †abye, beye:			
tweye <i>Ch.</i> —(bei) <i>Sm., G.</i>			
hȳran	hiren	hire	haier
fȳr	†fir	fire	faier
—i <i>Ld.</i> u <i>Lay., AR.</i> fuyr <i>RGL.</i> f(u)ir <i>PPL.</i> uer <i>Ay.</i> i <i>North.</i>			
fy(e)re:myre <i>TM.</i> f(g)er, fir <i>GE.</i> u <i>Harl.</i> foyre; hit wære, fouyre,			
fuyre, feyre <i>Aud.</i> fyer <i>Wicl.</i> fyr <i>Ch.</i> —(foier) <i>G.</i>			
2010 †mȳr sf	mire	mire	maier
‘swamp’—also u, ie.			
fȳlan	†filenn	(de)file	difail
bȳle	bile	boil	boil
‘ulcer’—also u, ui, e—(ei) <i>Sm.—rg</i> (bail).			
fȳlþ sf	filþe	filth	filþ
cȳþþo	kiþþe	kith	†kiþ
‘home,’ ‘friends.’			

- 2015 **lys pl** **lis** **lice** **lais**
 — (ei) or (ii) *Ben Jonson*. (ii) *barbare Cp.* (ii) *from Kt *lēs.*
mys pl **mis** **mice** **mais**
 — (ei) or (ii) *Ben Jonson*. (ii) *barbare Cp.* (ii) *from Kt *mēs.*
wyscan **wischen** **wish** **wif**
 — *weesen Ay.* *wuschen, i Prompt.* — *wish HVg.*
þrýsta **þrusten** **thrust** **þrast**
 — *e Ay.* *i GE, Prompt.* *i, e Wicl.* *threste : leste (i, u) 'desired' Ch.*
fýst sf **flst** **flst** **flst**
u Lay., AR, ALP. *i Prompt.* *fest (i) : hrest (= ēo), best adj Ch.*
2020 **hýf sf** **hive** **hive** **halv**
dýfan **diven** **dive** **daiv**
 — *u AR.* *e Marg.* *i PPl.*
brýne **brine** **brine** **brain**
þýmel **thimbil** **thimble** **þimbl**
 'thumbstall' — *Prompt.*
dryge **þdrigge** **dry** **drai**
 — *druie AR.* *dri North.* *dryge, druye ALP.* *drie Wicl.* *dreye : weye (drie) Ch.*
2025 **lýtel** **þlitell** **little** **litl**
 — *pl little O.* *luttel (t) Lay.* *lutthle pl, lutte Hom.* *lutel AR.* *litel, pl little Ay.* *lutel Hurl.* *lytul, lyty Aul.* *litel, lite : visite Ch.* *(litl) 'parvus' (liitl) 'valde parvus' G—(lait) Lyte. older (lijl).*
cýta **kite** **kite** **kait**
 — *e Ay.* *y (e) Ch.*
prýte **pride** **pride** **praid**
 — *prute, prude Lay.* *prute RGl.* *prude AR.* *prede Ay.* *pruyde PPl.*
pride GE.
hýd sf **hide** **hide** **haid**
hýdan **þhidenn** **hide** **haid**
2030 **brýd** **þbrid** **bride** **braid**
hýdde prt **þhidde** **hid** **hid**
drypan **drippin** **drip** **drip**
lWS; = ē (?) — Prompt. also drepen.

O.

- scō** **þsho** **shoe** **fuw**
 — *shues Td.* *(uu) Pg.*
tō adv **þto** **too** **tuw**
2035 **tō prt** **þto, te** **to** **tu, tē**
 — *to, ta Lay.* *to, uor te AR.* *to (ta) CM—to, tw HVg.* *(tu, to) G.*
(too) Ld.
***un-tōweard** — **untoward** **þantoued**
 — *(tēuērd) toward Pr.* *(o) not (o) is toward Ld.*

	dō vb	†don	do	duw
	— (duu) <i>Sm.</i> (du, duust, duin) <i>G.</i> (duu) <i>rectius</i> (doo) <i>W.</i> (duu) <i>Pr etc.</i>			
	ōra	oor	ore	oer
	— also ore (?).			
	hōre	hore	whore	hør
	— (huur) <i>Sm, Pr etc, Sk.</i> (hoor, whoor) <i>Ld.</i> (hoor) <i>EO, Bch—older</i> (huer).			
2040	swōr prt	swor	{ sware swore	{ tsweear swor
	— o <i>Lay., GE.</i> zuor <i>Ay.</i> swar (o) <i>AR.</i> sware <i>North.</i> —(oo) <i>G.</i> (farsuar) <i>Jn.</i> (soor, swoor) <i>Ld.</i>			
	flōr sfm	†flor	floor	flor
	— (fluuer) sometimes <i>Jn.</i> (oo) <i>Ld.</i>			
	mōr	mor	moor	muer
	— (moor) <i>EO, Ld, Bch, Sk.</i>			
	stōl	stol	stool	stuwl
	scōl sf	scole	school	akuwl
	<i>Fiftyl.</i> scolu <i>WS.</i>			
2045	cōl	col	cool	kuwl
	tōl	tol	tool	tuwl
	pōl	pol	pool	puwl
	ōþer	†oþerr	other	aþer
	—ōþre pl <i>O.</i> oother <i>Ch</i> —(u, o) <i>Sm, G.</i> (ænþer, nðer) <i>Jn.</i> (o) not (o) <i>Ld.</i>			
	rōþor	roþer	rudder	rader
2050	sōþ	†soþ	sooth	tsuwþ
	— (færseþ) better (færsoþ) <i>Jn.</i>			
	smōþe adv	†smeþe	smooth	smuwð
	also as adj instead of smæþe— <i>AR, +PC.</i> o <i>Prompt., Ch.</i>			
	tōþ	toþ	tooth	tuwþ
	†dōþ vb	†doþ	doth	†daþ
	—dooth <i>Ch.</i> doithe <i>TM</i> —dwth <i>HTg.</i> (u) <i>G.</i> (uu) <i>Jn.</i>			
	þbōþ sf	†boþe	booth	buwþ
	<i>EScand.; OI</i> būþ — (buuð) <i>Bl.</i>			
2055	brōþor	†broþerr	brother	braðer
	— o <i>Ch.</i> (u) <i>G.</i> (bruðerhud) <i>Cp.</i>			
	ōsle	osel	ouzel	uwel
	lōus	los	loose(n)	luws(n)
	lōusna 'get loose'—(þe lowse ston, lousse) <i>AR.</i> loos 'solutus' <i>Prompt.</i>			
	laus (louse, los), loos : goos <i>Ch</i> —lowsen, loose <i>rb Td.</i> loous, lous, loos <i>Ch.</i> (uu) <i>Sm.</i>			
	wōs	wos	oose	uws
	gōs	gos	goose	guws
	—guos <i>Ay.</i>			
2060	gōs-hafoc	goshauk	goshawk	goshok
	bōsm	†bosemm	bosom	busem
	— (hwzom) <i>Jn.</i> (bwzem) <i>Fr.</i> (bozem) <i>Bch.</i> (buuzem) <i>Sk—eg</i> (basim).			
	hrōst	—	roost	ruwat

	fōstor	†fosstrenn vb	foster	foster
	mōste prt	†mosste	must	mast
	—o <i>Lay., AR, Ch.</i>	u <i>Hom., GE, TM</i> —muste <i>Td.</i>		
2065	blōstm(e)	†blosstime	blossom	blosem
	—blostme <i>AR.</i>	blosme <i>Marg., Ch.</i>	blosme, blossum <i>Prompt.</i> —blosswm <i>HVg.</i>	
	†ōwef	oof	woof	wuwf
	— — (wef), better	(uuf) <i>Jn.</i>	w <i>infl. of wefan.</i>	
	rōwan	rowen	row	rou
	— — (roou) <i>Bl.</i>			
	hlōwan	lowen	low	lou
	— — (ou) <i>Sb.</i>			
	stōwian	stowen	stow	stou
2070	flōwan	†flowenn	flow	flou
	grōwan	growen	grow	grou
	— — (oou) <i>G.</i>			
	glōwan	†glowenn	glow	glou
	blōwan	blowen	blow	blou
	‘bloom.’			
	hōf	hof	hoof	hu(w)f
	—hufe <i>PC</i> —(huuv) <i>Sm.</i>			
2075	hōf prt	†hof(f)	hove	†houv
	—hof, æ, ea (eo), hefde <i>Lay.</i>	hef <i>AR.</i>	hof <i>North.</i>	haf: yaf, haaf <i>Ch.</i>
	be-hōflan	†bihofenn	behave	†bihouv
	—behouded: loued <i>CM.</i>	byhufe: lufe <i>PC</i> —(biuuu) <i>G, Cp, EO, Sh.</i>		
	(bihuv) <i>Pr</i> —older (uw).			
	wudu-rōfe	wuderove	woodruff	wudraf
	hrōf	†r(h)of	roof	ruwf
	glōf sf	glove	glove	glav
	— — (gluv) <i>G.</i>			
2080	prōflan	provien	prove	pruwv
	—preoven <i>AR.</i>	provi <i>Ay.</i>	proven, e <i>PPl.</i>	<i>infl. of Fr</i> —(uu) <i>Bt, Cp.</i>
	(v) <i>Pr.</i>	(v, uu) <i>EO</i> —older (a).		
	sōfte	†softe	soft	soft
	<i>adv of sēfte, but also adj</i> —softe <i>Td.</i>	(o) <i>Sm, G.</i>		
	sōna	†son(e)	soon	suwn
	spōn	spon	spoon	spu(w)n
	‘chip’ — — (uu) <i>G.</i>			
	nōn	non	noon	nuwn
2085	mōna	mone	moon	muwn
	mōnaþ	moneþ	month	manþ
	— — (munþ) <i>G.</i>			
	mōnan-dæg	mone(n)dai	Monday	mandi
	—munendai <i>GE</i> —(mundai) <i>Bt.</i>	(muundee) <i>Jn.</i>	(mendi) <i>Bch.</i>	(mun-dee) <i>Sh.</i>
	gedōn ptc	†don	done	dan
	—don (u) <i>CM</i> —dynn, dywn <i>HVg.</i>	done <i>Td.</i>	doon <i>Ch.</i>	(u) <i>G.</i>

- brohte prt †brohhte brought brôt
 — — (brouxt) *G.* (broot) *Pr, Jn.* (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Ld.* *Sh.*
- 2115 slög slōh slough slau
 'devium' *Wgl.* 'quoddam concavum' *Bede*—(oo) *Ld.* (aluf) *Bch.*
 (slou) *Sh.*
- slög prt †aloh slew †aluw
 — *pl* sloghenn *O.* sloh *Lay.* slouh *AR.* sloh : inoh *MH.* slog, slug
GE. slow : how *adv RBC.* sloog, slew *Wid.* slough, slow *Ch*—slue
Td. (yy) *Sm.*
- geswōgen ptc swounen vb swoon †swuwn
 'senseless.' aswōgen 'choked'—swough *sbst.* iswōwen 'in a swoon'—
 (saun) *Ld.* (suun) *Bch, Sh.*
- wōgian wōwen woo wuw
 — — (uu) *Jn.*
- genōg †inoh enough inaf
 — *pl* inoghe *O.* inouh *AR.* inog *Ay.* inoch, enogh *CM.* enewe : knew,
 enoghe : soghe (= sugu) *TM*—ynough *Td.* (inux, inuf) *G.* (inwf) *W.*
 (enwf) *Cp.* *pl* enow (enau) *W, Cp.* (enwf) *Bch.* (eenwf) *Sh.* *pl* (eniu)
B, h. (eenou) *Sh.*
- 2120 drōg prt †droh(h) drew druw
 —drouh *AR.* drogh *North.* drow : prow 'profit' *RBC.* drog, drou(z),
 dreuz *Wicl.*—drue *Td.*
- plōh †ploh plough plau
from Scand. plōg—ploges *Ld.* plo : do *TM.* plow (plouh) *PPL.*
 plough : ynough, plowman *Ch*—(au) *Cp.* (oo) *Jn.* (ou) *Bch, Sh.*
- bōg †boghes pl bough bau
 —bowes : growes, bughes *PC*—(bowh, buuh) *Bl.* (bou) *G.* (ben, boo)
Jn. (boo) *Bch.* (bou) *Sh.*
- rōt †rōte root ruwt
from Scand. rōt (!) unrotlice *dop* 'exterminant' *Wgl*—rotfest *Ld.* rote
AR.
- sōt sot soot sut, sat
 — — (uu) *G.* (uu) *Pr.* (u) *Cp.* (v) *better* (u) *Jn.* (v) *Bch, Sh.*
 (seti) *Bch.* (suuti) *Sh.* sooty.
- 2125 wrōtan wroten root ruwt
 'root up.' wrōt 'snout.'
- fōt †fōt foot fut
 — — (uu) *Bl, Pr.* (u, v) *Jn.* (v) *Bch.* (u) *Sh.*
- gemōt sn mot moot muwt
 'meeting.'
- bōt sf †bote boot buwt
 'mending.'
- hōd hod hood hud
 — — (u, uu) *Sm.* (u, v) *Jn.*
- 2130 rōd sf †rode { rood ruwd
 { rod rod
 —rodde : oodde *ON*—rodd 'rod' *Td.*
- gescōd ptc ischood shod fod

	stōd prt	†stod	stood	stud
	— (uu) <i>G.</i> (u, ʊ) <i>Jn.</i> (uu) <i>Boh.</i> (u) <i>Sh.</i>			
	wōdnes-dæg	wednesdai	Wednesday	we(d)nsdi
	—wodnesdawes (weodnesdei) <i>AR.</i> wednesdai <i>Kath.</i>			wednesday <i>Hart.</i>
	—(wenzdee) <i>Jn., Sh.</i> (wensdi) <i>Bch.</i>			
	fōda	†fode	food	fuwd
2135	fōd(d)or	fod(d)er	fodder	foder
	fīōd	†fīod	flood	fīad
	— — fludds <i>Td.</i> (uu) <i>Sm.</i> (u) <i>Bl., G.</i> (u, ʊ) <i>Cp.</i>			
	mōd	†mod	mood	muwd
	†wer-mōd	wermod	wormwood	weemwud
	mōdor	†moderr	mother	maðer
	—moder <i>North., Aud.</i> mooder <i>Ch</i> —mwddyr <i>HVg.</i>			oo <i>Ch.</i> (u) <i>Bl.</i>
	(ʊ) <i>Jn.</i>			
2140	gōd	†god	good	gud
	—guod <i>Ay.</i> goud <i>ALLP.</i> —gwd <i>HVg.</i> (uu, u) <i>Sm.</i> (u) <i>G.</i> (u, ʊ) <i>Jn.</i>			
	brōd	brod	brood	bruwd
	blōd	†blod	blood	blad
	— — bloud <i>Td., Ch.</i> (uu) <i>Sm.</i> (u) <i>Bl., G.</i>			
	hwōpan	—	whoop	(w)huwp
	— — (huup, uup) <i>Jn.</i>			

SECOND WORD-LIST.

(LIVING-OLD.)

	a				
þarə	<i>thorough</i>	þurh	ʃav	<i>shore</i>	scūfan
wari	<i>worry</i>	wyrġan	ʃavl	<i>shorel</i>	scōfel
farou	<i>furrow</i>	furh	glav	<i>glore</i>	glōf
barə	<i>borough</i>	burg	fokeglav	<i>foxglores</i>	foxes-glofa
			əbav	<i>abore</i>	onbufan
dal	<i>dull</i>	dol	han	<i>hung</i>	hūng
halk	<i>hulk</i>	hulc	jan	<i>young</i>	geong
			ran	<i>rung</i>	{ hrung
naþiŋ	<i>nothing</i>	nānþiŋ	lan	<i>lung</i>	{ wrungen
daþ	<i>doth</i>	dōþ	ran	<i>swung</i>	lungen
			alan	<i>slung</i>	sungen
aðər	<i>other</i>	ōþer	swan	<i>swung</i>	alungin
saðən	<i>southern</i>	sūþerne	stan	<i>stung</i>	swungen
maðər	<i>mother</i>	mōþor	spraŋ	<i>sprung</i>	stungen
braðər	<i>brother</i>	brōþor	əman; st	<i>among</i>	sprungen
			klan	<i>clung</i>	ongemany
as	<i>us</i>	ūs	tan	<i>tongue</i>	clungen
ðas	<i>thus</i>	þus	dan	<i>dung</i>	tunge
mael	<i>muscle</i>	muscle	san	<i>sunk</i>	dung
bael	<i>bullet</i>	bustla	san	<i>sunk</i>	suncen
task	<i>tusk</i>	tusc	fran	<i>shunk</i>	scruncen
bask	<i>busk</i>	būask	man	<i>monk</i>	munuc
hastin	<i>hastings</i>	hūsping	drank(en)	<i>drunk(en)</i>	druncen
rust	<i>rust</i>	rust	han	<i>hunger</i>	hunger
laet	<i>lust</i>	lust	man	<i>monger</i>	mangere
þraet	<i>thrust</i>	þrysta			
maet	<i>must</i>	{ must	hani	<i>honey</i>	hunig
		{ mōste	ran	<i>run</i>	{ eorman
klaester	<i>cluster</i>	clyster	san	<i>son</i>	{ urnen
gast	<i>guest</i>	gust	san	<i>sun</i>	sunu
traet	<i>trust</i>	treysta	stan	<i>stun</i>	sunne
dast	<i>dust</i>	dūst	span	<i>spun</i>	stunian
			fan	<i>shun</i>	spunnen
hazi(f)	<i>hussy, -if</i>	hūs-wif	wan	<i>won</i>	scunian
hazbend	<i>husband</i>	hūs-bōnda	wan	<i>one</i>	gewunnen
			nan	<i>nun</i>	ān
raf	<i>rush</i>	riac	nan	<i>none</i>	nunne
þraf	<i>thrush</i>	þryce	kan	<i>cunning</i>	nān
bla	<i>blush</i>	blyscan	bigan	<i>begun</i>	cunnan
			tan	<i>tun</i>	begunnen
raf	<i>rough</i>	rūh	dan	<i>dun</i>	tunne
wudraf	<i>woodruff</i>	wudurōfe	dan	<i>done</i>	dunn
inaf	<i>enough</i>	genōg	man	<i>month</i>	gedōn
kaf	<i>cuff</i>	cuffie	wans	<i>once</i>	mōnaþ
taf	<i>tough</i>	tōh	hant	<i>hunt</i>	āne
			stant	<i>stunt</i>	huntian
avn	<i>oven</i>	ofen	pant	<i>punt</i>	stunt
luv	<i>love</i>	lufian	ander	<i>under</i>	punt
					under

wið	<i>with</i>	wip	liv	<i>live</i>	libban
wiði	<i>withy</i>	wipig	liver	<i>liver</i>	lifer
whiðer	<i>whither</i>	hwider	siv	<i>sieve</i>	sife
			giv	<i>give</i>	gifan
			drivn	<i>driven</i>	drifen
-lis	<i>-less</i>	-lēas	riŋ	<i>ring</i>	{ hring
lien	<i>listen</i>	hlysnan	riŋ	<i>wring</i>	{ (h)ringan
piel	<i>thistle</i>	piŋtel	piŋ	<i>thing</i>	wringan
ðis	<i>this</i>	pis	siŋ	<i>sting</i>	piŋg
whiel	<i>whistle</i>	wistlian	aliŋ	<i>sling</i>	siŋgan
mis	<i>miss</i>	missan	swiŋ	<i>swing</i>	alŋgva
mialtōu	<i>mistletoe</i>	misteltān	stiŋ	<i>sting</i>	swingan
kis	<i>kiss</i>	cyssan	striŋ	<i>string</i>	stiŋgan
krisn	<i>christen</i>	cristenian	sprīŋ	<i>spring</i>	streŋge
krisndōm	<i>christendom</i>	cristendōm	wiŋ	<i>wing</i>	sprīngan
krismaes	<i>christmas</i>	Cristes-mæsse	kiŋ	<i>king</i>	veng
grisl	<i>gristle</i>	gristle	klīŋ	<i>cling</i>	cyning
glian	<i>glisten</i>	glysnian	brīŋ	<i>bring</i>	clīngan
brial	<i>bristle</i>	byrst	riŋkl	<i>wrinkle</i>	bringan
blis	<i>bliss</i>	bliss	liŋk	<i>link</i>	wrincl
rist	<i>wrist</i>	wrist	piŋk	<i>think</i>	hlence
list	<i>list</i>	{ gelystan	siŋk	<i>sink</i>	þyncean
listlis	<i>listless</i>	{ hlystan	aliŋk	<i>slink</i>	siŋcan
sister	<i>sister</i>	lust	stiŋk	<i>stink</i>	alīncan
fiat	<i>fiat</i>	sweostor	frīŋk	<i>shrink</i>	stiŋcan
mist	<i>mist</i>	fȳst	wiŋk	<i>wink</i>	scrīncan
grist	<i>grist</i>	mist	twiŋkl	<i>twinkle</i>	wīncian
twist	<i>twist</i>	grist	drīŋk	<i>drink</i>	twīncian
distaaŋ	<i>distaff</i>	twist	iŋgliŋ	<i>english</i>	drīncan
liŋp	<i>liŋp</i>	distaaŋ	iŋglēnd	<i>england</i>	ēngliŋc
whispeŋ	<i>whisper</i>	liŋp	fiŋger	<i>finger</i>	ēngla-land
criŋp	<i>criŋp</i>	whispeŋ	miŋgl	<i>mingle</i>	fiŋger
		criŋp			mēngan
iz	<i>is</i>	is	in	<i>in</i>	in
hiz	<i>his</i>	his	in	<i>in, inn</i>	inn
riŋn	<i>riŋn</i>	riŋn	linin	<i>linen</i>	linen
wiŋn	<i>wiŋn</i>	wiŋnian	liniŋ	<i>linnet</i>	linetwiŋe
grizli	<i>grizly</i>	ongrislīc	biŋ	<i>thin</i>	þynne
dizi	<i>dizzy</i>	dysig	sin	<i>sin</i>	synn
bizi	<i>busy</i>	bysig	sinju	<i>sinew</i>	sinu
wizdem	<i>wisdom</i>	wisdōm	skiŋ	<i>skin</i>	akinn
			spiŋ	<i>spin</i>	spinnan
wiŋ	<i>wish</i>	wȳscan	fiŋ	<i>skin</i>	scinu
fiŋ	<i>fish</i>	fisc	wiŋ	<i>win</i>	gewinnan
diŋ	<i>dish</i>	disc	wiŋou	<i>winnow</i>	wiŋdwiŋ
biŋap	<i>bishop</i>	biscop	fiŋ	<i>fin</i>	fiŋn
			miŋou	<i>minnow</i>	myne
if	<i>if</i>	gif	kiŋ	<i>kin</i>	cyŋn
stif	<i>stiff</i>	stif	biŋin	<i>begin</i>	beginnan
klif	<i>cliff</i>	clif	grīn	<i>grin</i>	greŋnian
fiŋp	<i>flith</i>	fifta	tiŋ	<i>tin</i>	tiŋ
liŋt	<i>lift</i>	lyfta	tŋin	<i>chin</i>	cinn
þriŋt	<i>thrift</i>	þriŋt	twiŋ	<i>twin</i>	getwiŋn
sift	<i>sift</i>	siftan	diŋ	<i>din</i>	dyne
swiŋt	<i>swift</i>	swiŋt	biŋ	<i>bin</i>	biŋn
fiŋt	<i>shift</i>	skifta	biŋ	<i>been</i>	*gebōon
þriŋt	<i>shrift</i>	scriŋt	liŋsiŋd	<i>linseed</i>	liŋsēd
fifti	<i>flthy</i>	fiftig	sina	<i>since</i>	siŋpan
giŋt	<i>gift</i>	giŋt			
drift	<i>drift</i>	drift			

minster	minster	minster	prick	prickle	prickel
in	in	in	siks	sir	sex
min	min	min	viken	vizen	fyzen
win	win	win	miks	mir	miscian
sin	sin	sin	siks	sirh	senta
sin	sin	sin	bitwix	betwixt	betwix
min	min	min			
min	min	min	iewig	earwig	earwiga
min	min	min	twig	twig	twig
min	min	min	in	it	hit
min	min	min	hit	hit	hitta
min	min	min	ritn	written	writen
min	min	min	lul	little	lytel
min	min	min	sit	sit	sitten
min	min	min	slit	slit	sliten
min	min	min	smitten	smitten	smiten
min	min	min	spit	spit	spitu
min	min	min	wit	wit	spittan
min	min	min	whit	whit	witan
min	min	min	fit	fit	gewitt
min	min	min	fit	fit	wiht
min	min	min	nit	knit	fit
min	min	min	grit	grit	flirtja
min	min	min	glit	glitter	enytan
min	min	min	twit	twit	grytt
min	min	min	pit	pit	glitter
min	min	min	priti	pretty	glitter
min	min	min	lit	lit	glitter
min	min	min	bitn	bitten	glitter
min	min	min	biter	biter	glitter
min	min	min	itf	itch	glitter
min	min	min	stuf	stitch	glitter
min	min	min	witf	wychelm	glitter
min	min	min	witf	witch	glitter
min	min	min	whitf	which	glitter
min	min	min	flitf	flitch	glitter
min	min	min	kitfin	kitchen	glitter
min	min	min	twitf	twitch	glitter
min	min	min	ditf	ditch	glitter
min	min	min	pitf	pitch	glitter
min	min	min	bitf	bitch	glitter
min	min	min	brifz	breeches	glitter
min	min	min	hid	hid	glitter
min	min	min	rid	rid	glitter
min	min	min	ridl	riddle	glitter
min	min	min	ridn	ridden	glitter
min	min	min	bed ridn	bedridden	glitter
min	min	min	lid	lid	glitter
min	min	min	slid	slid	glitter
min	min	min	widou	widow	glitter
min	min	min	fidl	fiddle	glitter
min	min	min	midl	middle	glitter
min	min	min	kid	kid	glitter
min	min	min	kwid	quid	glitter
min	min	min	gidi	giddy	glitter
min	min	min	did	did	glitter

bid	<i>bid</i>	biddan	help	<i>health</i>	hælo
bidn	<i>bidden</i>	biden	els	<i>else</i>	elles
midst	<i>midst</i>	tōmidde	welf	<i>welsh</i>	weliso
ridg	<i>ridge</i>	hrycg	elf	<i>elf</i>	elf
midg	<i>midre</i>	mycg	self	<i>self</i>	self
bridg	<i>bridge</i>	brycg	felf	<i>shelf</i>	scelf
hip	<i>hip</i>	hype	twelfþ	<i>twelfth</i>	twelfta
hips	<i>hips</i>	hēopan	twelv	<i>twelve</i>	twelf
lip	<i>lip</i>	lippa	delv	<i>delve</i>	delfan
þripens	<i>threepence</i>	þreo peningas	elm	<i>elm</i>	elm
(kau)slip	<i>cowslip</i>	cūslippe	helm	<i>helm</i>	helma
slipori	<i>slippery</i>	slipor	helmit	<i>helmet</i>	helm
strip	<i>strip</i>	strēpan	welkin	<i>welkin</i>	wolcen
ʃip	<i>ship</i>	scip	whelk	<i>whelk</i>	weoloc
kripl	<i>cripple</i>	crypel	smelt	<i>smelt</i>	smelt
klip	<i>clip</i>	{ klippa	spelt	<i>spelt</i>	spelt
tipit	<i>tippet</i>	{ clyppan	felt	<i>felt</i>	felt
grip	<i>grip</i>	tæppet	melt	<i>melt</i>	meltan
dip	<i>dip</i>	gripe	belt	<i>belt</i>	belt
drip	<i>drip</i>	dyppan	beltʃ	<i>belch</i>	belcettan
rib	<i>rib</i>	ribb	eldor, -ist	<i>elder, -est</i>	eldra, eldest
nib	<i>nib</i>	nebb	eldor	<i>elder</i>	ellern
			held	<i>held</i>	hēold
			seldom	<i>seldom</i>	seldon
			help	<i>help</i>	helpan
			jelp	<i>yelp</i>	gelpan
			whelp	<i>whelp</i>	hwelp
erend	<i>errand</i>	ārende (ē)	deþ	<i>death</i>	dēaþ
herin	<i>herring</i>	hæring	breþ	<i>breath</i>	bræþ (ē)
serif	<i>sheriff</i>	scirgerāfa	leðor	<i>leather</i>	leþor
feri	<i>ferry</i>	fērian	weðor	<i>weather</i>	wēþor
meri	<i>merry</i>	myrg	weðor	<i>weather</i>	weder
beri	<i>berry</i>	berge	weðor	<i>weather</i>	hwæþer
beri	<i>bury</i>	byrgan	feðor	<i>feather</i>	feþor
berial	<i>burial</i>	byrgels	neðor	<i>nether</i>	neþor
el	<i>ell</i>	eln	tøgeðor	<i>together</i>	tøgædro
hel	<i>hell</i>	hell	breðrin	<i>brethren</i>	bræþer
jel	<i>yell</i>	gellan	jes	<i>yes</i>	gise
jelou	<i>yellow</i>	geolu	roal	<i>restle</i>	writstlian
sel	<i>sell</i>	sellan	les	<i>less</i>	læssa
swel	<i>swell</i>	swellan	kres	<i>cress</i>	cresso
smel	<i>smell</i>	smellan	bles	<i>bless</i>	blædsian
spel	<i>spell</i>	spell	bihest	<i>behest</i>	hæst
ʃel	<i>shell</i>	scell	jestædi	<i>yesterday</i>	geostran-dæg
wel	<i>well</i>	{ wel	rest	<i>rest</i>	ræst
		{ welle	rest	<i>rest</i>	wræstan
fel	<i>fell</i>	{ fell	lest	<i>lest</i>	þy-læst
		{ fellan	west	<i>west</i>	west
feli, -ou	<i>felly, -oe</i>	{ fæll	nest	<i>nest</i>	nest
felou	<i>fellow</i>	{ felg	gest	<i>guest</i>	gest
nel	<i>knell</i>	{ fælagi	tjest	<i>chest</i>	cæst
kwel	<i>quell</i>	{ cnyllan	best	<i>best</i>	bætst
tel	<i>tell</i>	{ cwellan	breost	<i>breast</i>	bræost
dwel	<i>dwell</i>	{ tællan	sez	<i>says</i>	sægeþ
bel	<i>bell</i>	{ dvelja	þrefould	<i>threshold</i>	þerscold
beli	<i>belly</i>	{ belle			
belouz	<i>bellows</i>	{ belg			
belou	<i>bellow</i>	{ belgan			

fref	freak	fere	lend	lent	lŕnan
fief	fiek	fisee	lend	lend	ŕndan
hefer	heifer	heahfere	ŕpend	ŕpend	ŕpendan
deŕ	deaf	deaf	wend	wend	wŕndan
hefeŕ	heveŕ	hefeadef	frend	friend	freond
left	left	lyth	bend	bead	bendan
juŕt	theft	lyth	blend	blend	blendan
weŕt	weŕt	lyŕed	hem	hem	heum
kleŕt	cleŕt	lyŕt	hemlock	hemlock	hymlic
deŕt	deŕt	weŕte	lemon	leuman	leof man
		geuŕŕe	ŕem	then	þeim
		geheŕte	ŕem	ŕem	ŕemna
ever	ever	æfre	ŕem	ŕem	ŕemna
evri	every	æfre ælc	emti	empty	æmettig
hevi	heavy	heŕe	hemp	hemp	hanep
hevn	heaven	heofon	embor	embere	emyrja
hevn	eleven	endleŕon	rek	reck	reccan
ŕern	seven	ŕeofon	rek	wreck	wreccan
never	never	næfre	rek	wreck	wreccan
devl	devil	dæfol	rekan	reckon	reccenian
			ŕpek	ŕpek	ŕpecca
length	length	lengo	nek	neck	hnecca
ŕtrength	ŕtrength	ŕtrengþo	bek(en)	beck(en)	becnan
			nekst	next	næht
eni	any	ænig	eg	egg	egg
hen	hen	heun	leg	leg	legg
renit	rennet	reanan	dregr	dragg	dragg
ren	seven	wreanna	beg	beg	bedecian
þen	then	þonne			
wen	when	wenn	et	ate	æt
when	when	hwonne	jet	yet	get
fen	fen	feun			lettan
men	men	menun	let	let	lætan
meni	many	manig			let
ken	ken	kenna	þret(n)	threat(en)	þreatian
ogen(st)	against	ongægn	set	set	ŕettan
ten	ten	tæn	setl	settle	setl
den	den	denn	ŕwet	ŕwet	ŕwætæn
pen	pen	pennan	wet	wet	wæt
peni	penny	pening	whet	whet	hwætæn
hens	hence	heonon	fetar	fetter	fetor
þens	thence	þanon	fret	fret	fretan
whens	whence	hwanon			fretwan
klenz	cleanse	clænŕian	net	net	nett
ŕten	ŕtench	ŕtenc	netl	nettle	nettele
ren	wrench	wreccan	met	met	gemætte
fren	french	frencisc	ketl	kettle	cgetel
kwen	quench	owenccan	get	got	(be)getan
dren	drench	drenccan	tetor	tetter	teter
ben	bench	benc	betor	better	betera
enent	anent	on efen	ret	retch	reccan
lent	lent	lencten	ret	wretch	wrecca
lent	lent	læned	ŕret	ŕretch	ŕrecca
ŕent	ŕent	ŕend	ŕet	ŕetch	ŕrecca
ment	meant	mæned	ŕet	ŕetch	ŕrecca
kent	kent	cen	ŕet	ŕetch	ŕrecca
twenti	twenty	twentig	ŕet	ŕetch	ŕrecca
end	end	ende	ŕet	ŕetch	ŕrecca
	rend	reendan	ŕet	ŕetch	ŕrecca

led	<i>lead</i>	lēad	kælou	<i>callow</i>	calu
led	<i>led</i>	lēdde	gælouz	<i>gallows</i>	galga
pred	<i>thread</i>	præd (ð)	tælou	<i>tailow</i>	tælg
sed	<i>said</i>	sægde	sælv	<i>salve</i>	salfian
sted	<i>stead</i>	stēde			
stedi	<i>steady</i>	stæppig	hæp	<i>hath</i>	hæfp
sped	<i>spel</i>	spædde			
spred	<i>spread</i>	{ sprædan sprædde scydd	læðer	<i>lather</i>	lēaþor
		{ scædan	fæðem	<i>fathom</i>	fæþm
fed	<i>shed</i>	scrædan	gæðer	<i>gather</i>	gæðrian
fred	<i>shred</i>	scrædian	mæs	<i>mass</i>	mæsse
wed	<i>wed</i>	wedd	bæs	<i>bass</i>	bærs
wednzdi	<i>wednesday</i>	wōdnes-dæg	bæst	<i>bast</i>	bæst
fed	<i>fed</i>	fædde	sæpin	<i>aspen</i>	sæpe
medou	<i>meadow</i>	mæd (ð)			
tred	<i>tread</i>	tredan	æz	<i>as</i>	alswā
ded	<i>deal</i>	dēad	hæz	<i>has</i>	hæfp
dred	<i>deal</i>	ondrædan (ð)			
bed	<i>bed</i>	bēdd	æf	<i>ash</i>	sæc
bred	<i>bread</i>	brēad	æfiz	<i>ashes</i>	sæcan
bled	<i>bled</i>	blōdde	ræf	<i>rash</i>	ræak
edg	<i>edge</i>	æg	þræf	<i>thrash</i>	þerscan
hedg	<i>hedge</i>	hæg	mæf	<i>mash</i>	mæsc
sedg	<i>sedg</i>	sæg			
sledg (hæm- er)	<i>sledge</i>	sæg	tjæfer	<i>chaffer</i>	* cæpfaru
wedg	<i>wedge</i>	wæg	hæv	<i>hate</i>	habban
stæp	<i>step</i>	stæppan	hæn	<i>hang</i>	hangian
step-	<i>step-</i>	stēop	sæn	<i>sang</i>	sang
steped	<i>shepherd</i>	scæþhirde (ð)	spræn	<i>sprang</i>	sprang
wepæn	<i>weapon</i>	wæpen (ð)	gæn	<i>gang</i>	gang
depp	<i>depth</i>	dæpe	bæn	<i>bang</i>	bang
sept	<i>sept</i>	slæpte (ð)	sænkor	<i>anchor</i>	ancor
kept	<i>kept</i>	cæpte	sænkl	<i>anchor</i>	ancleðow
			hænkl	<i>hank</i>	hanki
eb	<i>ebb</i>	ebba	rænkl	<i>rank</i>	ranc
web	<i>web</i>	wēbb	lænkl	<i>lank</i>	hlanc
pebl	<i>pebble</i>	pæpol	þænkl	<i>thank</i>	þancian
			sænkl	<i>sank</i>	sanc
			stænkl	<i>stank</i>	stanc
			frænkl	<i>shrank</i>	scanca
			krænkl	<i>crank</i>	scranc
ærou	<i>arrow</i>	arwe	drænkl	<i>drank</i>	dranc
hæri	<i>harry</i>	hergian	bænkl	<i>bank</i>	banki
jarou	<i>yarrow</i>	gearwe	sængær	<i>anger</i>	angr
spærou	<i>sparrow</i>	spearwa	sængl	<i>angle</i>	angel
nærou	<i>narrow</i>	nearu			
mærou	<i>marrow</i>	mearg			
tæri	<i>tarry</i>	tærgan	ræn	<i>ran</i>	arn
bærou	<i>barrow</i>	{ bearwe beorg	ðæn	<i>than</i>	þonne
			sæn	<i>span</i>	{ spann spannan
hælou	<i>hallow</i>	hælgian	fæn	<i>fan</i>	fann
sælou	<i>sallow</i>	{ salu sæh	mæn	<i>man</i>	mann
fæl	<i>shail</i>	scæl	kæn	<i>cun</i>	{ cann canne
fælou	<i>fallow</i>	falū	bigæn	<i>began</i>	begann
mælou	<i>mallow</i>	malwe	kæn	<i>cannel</i>	candel

gænit	<i>gannet</i>	ganot	mætek	<i>mattock</i>	mattoe
tæn	<i>tan</i>	tannian	kæt	<i>cat</i>	cattē
pæn	<i>pan</i>	panne	klæter	<i>clatter</i>	clatrian
bæn	<i>bann</i>	gebann	bigæt	<i>begat</i>	begæt
sænþim	<i>anthem</i>	antefn	tæter	<i>tatter</i>	tættec-
rænsæk	<i>ransack</i>	rannsaka	bætn	<i>batten</i>	bætna
senvil	<i>anvil</i>	anfit	lætʃ	<i>latch</i>	gelsæccan
sænd	<i>and</i>	and	þætʃ	<i>thatch</i>	þæc
hænd	<i>hand</i>	hand	mætʃ	<i>match</i>	gemæcca
lænd	<i>land</i>	land			
sænd	<i>sand</i>	sand	sæder	<i>adder</i>	nædre (s)
stænd	<i>stand</i>	standan	sæld	<i>addled</i>	sæla
strænd	<i>strand</i>	strand	hæd	<i>had</i>	hæfde
kændl	<i>candle</i>	candel	læder	<i>ladder</i>	hlædre
gænder	<i>gander</i>	gandra	sæd	<i>sad</i>	sæd
brænd	<i>brand</i>	brand	sædl	<i>saddle</i>	sædol
			ʃædou	<i>shadow</i>	sæadu
sæm	<i>am</i>	eom	mæd	<i>mad</i>	gemædd
hæm	<i>ham</i>	hamm	mæder	<i>madder</i>	mædere
hæmor	<i>hammer</i>	hamor	gæd(flai)	<i>gad(fly)</i>	gædd
ræm	<i>ram</i>	ramm	klæd	<i>clad</i>	klæpdi
læm	<i>lamb</i>	lamb	glæd	<i>glad</i>	glæd
læmæs	<i>lammas</i>	hlæfmæsse	bæd	<i>bade</i>	bæd
swæm	<i>swam</i>	swamm	bæd	<i>bad</i>	bæddel
stæmør	<i>stammer</i>	stamrian	blæder	<i>bladder</i>	blædre (s)
kræm	<i>cram</i>	crammian	sædz	<i>adze</i>	adese
stæmp	<i>stamp</i>	stampian			
kræmp	<i>cramp</i>	cramp	sæpl	<i>apple</i>	sæppel
bræmbl	<i>bramble</i>	bræmel	hæp	<i>hap</i>	hæpp
			læp	<i>lap</i>	læpian
læk	<i>lack</i>	lak	læp, -it	<i>lap, -pet</i>	læppa
sæk	<i>sack</i>	sæcc	læpwiŋ	<i>lapping</i>	læpewince
rænsæk	<i>ransack</i>	rannsaka	sæp	<i>sap</i>	sæp
slæk	<i>slack</i>	slæc	stræp	<i>strap</i>	stropp
ʃækl	<i>shackle</i>	sæcol	næp	<i>nap</i>	hnæppian
kræk	<i>crack</i>	cræcian	kæp	<i>cap</i>	cæppe
bæk	<i>back</i>	bæc	klæp	<i>clap</i>	klæppa
blæk	<i>black</i>	blæc	tæp	<i>tap</i>	tæppe
sæks	<i>axe</i>	sæx	træp	<i>trap</i>	træppe
sækel	<i>axe</i>	sæxl	tʃæpmæn	<i>chapman</i>	cæpmann
wæks	<i>wax</i>	{ wæxan	sæbot	<i>abbot</i>	æbbod
flæks	<i>flux</i>	{ wæx	skæb	<i>scab</i>	sæebb
			ʃæbi	<i>shabby</i>	
ræg	<i>rag</i>	ræggig	kræb	<i>crab</i>	cræbba
ʃæg	<i>shag</i>	sæcæga	gæb(1)	<i>gub(ble)</i>	gabba
wæg	<i>wag</i>	wægian			
bæg	<i>bag</i>	baggi			
				u	
æt	<i>at</i>	æt	tu	<i>to</i>	tō
hæt	<i>hat</i>	hætt			
lætær	<i>latter</i>	lætor	wul	<i>wool</i>	wull
ðæt	<i>that</i>	þæt	ful	<i>full</i>	full
sæt	<i>sat</i>	sæt	fulær	<i>fuller</i>	fullere
sætædi	<i>saturday</i>	sæternes-dæg	pul	<i>pull</i>	pullian
sæt	<i>spat</i>	sætætte	bul	<i>bull</i>	buli
flæt	<i>fat</i>	fætt	bulæk	<i>bullock</i>	bulluc
flæt	<i>fat</i>	flæt	wulf	<i>wolf</i>	wulf
væt	<i>rat</i>	fæt			
næt	<i>gnat</i>	gnætt	buzæm	<i>bosom</i>	bōem

huf	<i>hoof</i>	hōf	wosp	<i>wasp</i>	wæsp
spu(w)n	<i>spoon</i>	spōn	gospel	<i>gospel</i>	godspell
rum	<i>room</i>	rūm	wos	<i>was</i>	wæs
wumēn	<i>woman</i>	wifmann	wof	<i>wash</i>	wæscan
bru(w)m	<i>broom</i>	brōm	ofl	<i>offal</i>	offall
huk	<i>hook</i>	hōc	ov	<i>of</i>	of
ruk	<i>rook</i>	hrōc	hovl	<i>hovel</i>	*hofel
luk	<i>look</i>	lōcian	grovl	<i>grovel</i>	grūfa
fuk	<i>shook</i>	sōc	provest	<i>procoet</i>	prāfost
kuk	<i>cook</i>	oōc	ron	<i>wrong</i>	vrang
kruk	<i>crook</i>	krōk	lon	<i>long</i>	lang
tuk	<i>took</i>	tōc	þon	<i>thong</i>	þwang
buk	<i>book</i>	bōc	þron	<i>throng</i>	geþrang
bruk	<i>brook</i>	{ brōc brūcan	son	<i>song</i>	sang
sut	<i>soot</i>	sōt	stron	<i>strong</i>	strang
fut	<i>foot</i>	fūt	tonz	<i>tongs</i>	tang
hud	<i>hood</i>	hōd	on	<i>on</i>	on
-hud	<i>-hood</i>	-hād	epōn	<i>upon</i>	uppon
stod	<i>stood</i>	stōd	enon	<i>anon</i>	on ān
fud	<i>should</i>	scolde	jon	<i>yon</i>	geon
wud	<i>wood</i>	wudu	awon	<i>swan</i>	swan
wud	<i>would</i>	wolde	jon	<i>shone</i>	scān
kud	<i>could</i>	cūþe	won	<i>wan</i>	wann
gud	<i>good</i>	gōd	gon	<i>gone</i>	gegān
o			wont	<i>wont</i>	vanta
sori	<i>sorry</i>	sārig	wonten	<i>wanton</i>	*wantogen
sorou	<i>sorrow</i>	sorg	bijond	<i>beyond</i>	begeondan
morou	<i>morrow</i>	morgen	wond	<i>wand</i>	vond
borou	<i>borrow</i>	borgian	wonder	<i>wandler</i>	wandrian
holi	<i>holly</i>	holegn	bond	<i>bond</i>	band
holidi	<i>holiday</i>	hālig dæg	from	<i>from</i>	from
holou	<i>hollow</i>	holh	(holi)hok	<i>(holly)hock</i>	hocc
swolou	<i>swallow</i>	{ swalwe swelgan	hok	<i>hough</i>	hōh
wolou	<i>wallow</i>	walwian	rok	<i>rock</i>	rocc
folou	<i>follow</i>	folgian	lok	<i>luck</i>	{ loc locc
nolidz	<i>knowledge</i>	*cnāwltēcan	sok	<i>sock</i>	socc
olwou	<i>also</i>	alawā	smok	<i>smock</i>	smoc
fols	<i>fals</i>	fals	stok	<i>stock</i>	stocc
holt	<i>halt</i>	halt	flok	<i>flock</i>	flocc
holter	<i>halter</i>	halfter	nok	<i>knock</i>	cnocian
solt	<i>salt</i>	salt	kok	<i>cock</i>	cocc
molt	<i>malt</i>	malt	kokl	<i>cockle</i>	coccl
mos	<i>moss</i>	mosi	krokæri	<i>crockery</i>	crocca
gosp	<i>gossip</i>	godsibb	dok	<i>dock</i>	doce
goshok	<i>goshawk</i>	gōshafoc	oks	<i>ore</i>	oxa
dros	<i>dross</i>	drosne	foks	<i>fox</i>	fox
blosem	<i>blossom</i>	blōstme	poks	<i>pox</i>	poccas
foster	<i>foster</i>	fōster	boks	<i>box</i>	box
nostril	<i>nostril</i>	næspýrel	frog	<i>frog</i>	frogga
			dog	<i>dog</i>	dogga

otër	otter	otor	gaalik	garlick	gärlīac
hot	hot	hät	tʃaalək	charlock	ceŕlic
rot	rot	rotian	daaliŋ	darling	dærling
lot	lot	blot	baali	barley	bærlic
snot	snot	gesnot			
spot	spot	splott	haap	heartk	heorþ
ʃot	shot	{ gescot	laap	lath	lett
wot	wot	{ scoten	paap	path	pæþ
wotl	wattle	wät	baap	bath	bæþ
whot	what	watol			
not	not	hwät	raaðər	rather	hraþor
not	not	näwiht	faaðər	father	fæder
not	knot	enotta	faaʒər	farther	furþor
kot	cot	cot	faaʒiŋ	farthing	feorþliŋ
klot	clot	clott			
got	got	(be)gæt	aas	ass	asa
bigotn	begotten	begeten	aas	arse	ears
dot	dot	dott	faasn	fasten	fæstenian
plot	plot	plot	kaasl	castle	castel
botəm	bottom	botm	graaŋ	grass	græs
blot	blot	plot	glaas	glass	glæs
wotʃ	watch	wæce	aask	ask	āscian
			flaask	flask	flaŋce
			baask	bask	baþaak
od	odd	oddi			
rod	rod	röd	laast	last	{ hlaest
sodn	sodden	soden			{ latost
swodl	swaddle	swēpel			{ läst
ʃod	shod	gescöd	faast	fast	{ læstan
fodər	fodder	födor			{ fæst
kod	cod	codd	maast	mast	{ fæstan
god	god	god	kaast	cast	{ mæst
trodn	troiden	troden	gaastli	ghastly	kasta
bodi	body	bodig	blaast	blast	gæstlic
			haasp	hasp	blæst (v)
					hæspe
hop	hop	hoppian			
sop	sop	soppian	maaf	marsh	merŋc
stop	stop	stoppian			
strop	strop	strop	haaf	half	half
kopər	copper	copor	laaf	laugh	hleghan
krop	crop	{ cropp	staaf	staff	stæf
		{ kroppa			
top	top	topp	kaaf	calf	{ calf
drop	drop	dropa	tʃaaf	chaff	{ kæf
popi	poppy	popig	aafter	after	{ æfter
			raafter	rafter	ræfter
kob(web)	cob(web)	(ātor)coppa	laafter	laughter	hlahtor
lobstər	lobster	loppestre	ʃaaf	shaft	scæft
			kraaft	craft	cræft
	aa		draaft	{ draught }	draht
				{ draft }	
aar	are	earun	haavist	harvest	hærfest
staar	star	steorra	staav	starve	steorfan
spaar	spær	spær(stān)	kaav	calve	calfian
faar	far	feorr	kaav	carve	ceorfan
maar	mar	mærran			
taar	tar	teoru	jaan	yarn	gearn
tʃaar	char	ceŕr	baan	barn	bærn
odgaar	ajar		aansər	answer	andswaru
staaliŋ	starling	stær			

aant	<i>aant</i>	<i>ætmette</i>	weest	<i>worst</i>	wyrrest
jaant	<i>shall not</i>	<i>scæl nāwih̃t</i>	fæest	<i>first</i>	fyrsta
			deest	<i>durst</i>	dorste
aam	<i>arm</i>	<i>earn</i>	beest	<i>burst</i>	{ berstan
aamz	<i>alms</i>	<i>ælmesse</i>			{ borsten
haam	<i>harm</i>	<i>hearm</i>	feez	<i>furze</i>	fyrz
baam	<i>barm</i>	<i>beorma</i>	þeozdi	<i>thursday</i>	þūres-dæg
aak	<i>ark</i>	<i>earc</i>	weefip	<i>worship</i>	weorþscipe
haak	<i>hark</i>	{ <i>hærcnian</i>	skeef	<i>scurf</i>	scurf
haakn	<i>hearken</i>		teof	<i>turf</i>	turf
laak	<i>lark</i>	<i>lāwerce</i>	swæev	<i>swerre</i>	sweorfan
staak	<i>stark</i>	<i>stearc</i>	een	<i>earn</i>	geearnian
spaa	<i>spark</i>	<i>spearca</i>	eenist	<i>earnest</i>	eornest
maak	<i>mark</i>	<i>mearc</i>	jeon	<i>yearn</i>	georn
daak	<i>dark</i>	<i>deorc</i>	leen	<i>learn</i>	leornian
paak	<i>park</i>	<i>pearroc</i>	steen	<i>stern</i>	{ sterne
baak	<i>bark</i>	{ <i>þork</i>	spoen	<i>spurn</i>	{ stjorn
		{ <i>beorcan</i>	feon	<i>fern</i>	spurnan
aat	<i>art</i>	<i>cart</i>	keenl	<i>kernel</i>	fearn
haat	<i>hart</i>	<i>cart</i>	teen	<i>turn</i>	cyrnel
haat	<i>heart</i>	<i>heorot</i>	been	<i>burn</i>	turnian
haat	<i>heart</i>	<i>heorte</i>	weem	<i>worm</i>	wyrn
smaat	<i>smart</i>	<i>smeortan</i>	weemwud	<i>wormwood</i>	wermod
kaat	<i>cart</i>	<i>crist</i>	eek	<i>irk</i>	yrkja
taat	<i>tart</i>	<i>teart</i>	smoek	<i>smirk</i>	sm(e)rcian
aatf-	<i>arok-</i>	<i>ærce-</i>	week	<i>work</i>	{ weorc
			meeki	<i>mirky</i>	{ wyrcan
					myroe
haad	<i>hard</i>	<i>heard</i>	þeeti	<i>thirty</i>	þritig
haadn	<i>harden</i>	<i>harþna</i>	þeetijn	<i>thirteen</i>	þrēotēne
jaad	<i>yard</i>	{ <i>geard</i>	feet	<i>shirt</i>	skyrta
		{ <i>gērd</i>	weat	<i>wort</i>	wyrt
haap	<i>harp</i>	<i>hearpe</i>	keetl	<i>kirtle</i>	cyrtel
jaap	<i>sharp</i>	<i>scarp</i>	teetl	<i>turtle</i>	turtle
			deet	<i>dirt</i>	drit
			tjæetf	<i>church</i>	cirice
			beetf	<i>birch</i>	birce
heer	<i>her</i>	<i>hire</i>	heed	<i>herd</i>	heord
steer	<i>stir</i>	<i>styrian</i>	heed	<i>heard</i>	gehērd
speer	<i>spur</i>	<i>spura</i>	heedl	<i>hurdle</i>	hyrdel
weer	<i>were</i>	<i>wæron</i> (s)	tjæevill	<i>chervil</i>	cæfille
eel	<i>earl</i>	<i>eorl</i>	þeod	<i>third</i>	þridde
wheel	<i>whirl</i>	<i>hvirfla</i>	weod	<i>word</i>	word
feelonj	<i>furlong</i>	<i>furlang</i>	meeder	<i>murder</i>	{ myrþran
tjeel	<i>churl</i>	<i>ceorl</i>	geedl	<i>girdle</i>	{ morþor
weeld	<i>world</i>	<i>woruld</i>	beed	<i>bird</i>	gyrdel
eeþ	<i>earth</i>	<i>eorþe</i>	beedn	<i>burden</i>	bridd
wæþ	<i>worth</i>	<i>weorþ</i>			byrþen
meep	<i>mirth</i>	<i>myrgþ</i>			
geep	<i>girth</i>	<i>gjrþ</i>			
beep	<i>birth</i>	<i>gebyrd</i>			
feeder	<i>further</i>	<i>furþor</i>			
wees	<i>worse</i>	<i>wyrsa</i>			
kees	<i>curse</i>	<i>curs</i>			
þeest	<i>thirst</i>	<i>þyrstan</i>			

ij					
hij	he	hē	wijzl	weazel	weasle
ji	ye	gē	whijz	whetze	hwāsan (ē)
lij	lea	hlēo	snijz	snetze	fnēosan
lij	lea	lēah	frijz	freeze	frēosan
prij	three	prēo	tijz	tease	tāsan
ðij	thee	þē	tfijz	cheese	cāse (ē)
ðij	the	se	pijz	pease	pēosan
sij	see	sēo(n)	bijzom	besom	besma
sij	sea	sē	lijf	lief	lēof
fi	she	sēo	lijf	leaf	lēaf
wij	we	wē	bilijf	belief	gelēafa
fi	fee	feoh	þijf	thief	þēof
frij	free	frēo	fi	sheaf	sēaf
fi	flee	flēo(n)			
fi	flea	flēah	ijvl	evil	yfel
ni	knee	cnēo	ijvn	even	ēfen
mij	me	mē	ijvni	evening	ēfen
kij	key	cāge	hijv	heave	hēbban
gli	glee	glēo	birijv	bereave	berēafian
trij	tree	trēo	lijv	leave	lēaf
pij(kok)	pea(cock)	pēa	bilijv	believe	lēafan
bi	bee	bēo	slijv	sleeve	gelēfan
bi	be	bēo(n)	wijv	weave	slēf
			wijvl	weevil	wefan
ijl	eel	æl (ē)	fi	fever	wifel
hi	heel	hēla	fi	fever	feler
hi	heal	hēlan	kljv	cleave	clēofan
ri	reel	hrēol	ijvz	caves	clifan
si	seal	seolh			efes
sti	steal	stēle	lijn	lean	hleonian
sti	steal	stelan			hlāne
whijl	wheel	hwēol	si	seen	gesēne
fi	feel	fēlan	fi	sheen	scēne
mijl	meal	inæl (ē)	wijn	ween	wēnan
kijl	keel	melu	wijn	wean	wēnian
di	deal	kjōl			mānan
ji	yield	dæl	mijn	mean	gemāne
fi	shield	geldan	ki	keen	cōne
wi	wield	sceld	klj	clean	clāne
fi	field	geweldan	kwijn	queen	cwēn
		feld	kwijn	quean	cwene
hi	heath	hāþ	gri	green	grōne
ri	wreath	wrāþ	-tij	-teen	-tēne
fi	sheath	scāþ	bitwijn	between	betwēonan
binijþ	beneath	beneoþan	bi	been	*gebēon
bikwijþ	bequeath	becweþan	bi	bean	bēan
tijþ	teeth	tēþ	fi	fiend	fēond
sijð	scethe	sēoþan	sijm	seem	sē man
fijs	fleece	flēos	sijm	seam	sēam
gijs	geese	gē s	stijm	steam	stēam
ijst	east	east	strijm	stream	strēam
ijstør	easter	ēastron	glijm	gleam	glām
ijst	yeast	gest	tijm	teem	tēman
lijst	least	læst	tijm	team	tēam
prijst	priest	prēost	drijm	dream	drēam
			bi	beam	bēam

ijk	<i>eke</i>	{ ēcan	mijd	<i>meed</i>	mīd
rijk	<i>roek</i>	{ ēac	mijd	<i>mead</i>	{ medu
lijk	<i>leek</i>	rēc			{ mād (ē)
lijk	<i>leak</i>	lēac	krijd	<i>creed</i>	crēda
sijk	<i>seek</i>	leka	grijdi	<i>greedy</i>	grādig (ē)
snijk	<i>sneak</i>	sēcan	dijd	<i>deed</i>	dād (ē)
spijk	<i>speak</i>	snican	bijd	<i>bead</i>	gebod
wijk	<i>vreek</i>	sprecan	brijd	<i>breed</i>	brēdan
wijk	<i>vreak</i>	wicu	blijd	<i>bleed</i>	blēdan
mijk	<i>meek</i>	veik			
tsijk	<i>cheek</i>	mjuk	hijp	<i>heap</i>	hēap
bijkær	<i>beaker</i>	cēace	rijp	<i>reap</i>	reopan
bijkæn	<i>beacon</i>	bikar	lijp	<i>leap</i>	hlēap an
		bēacn	sljip	<i>sleep</i>	alāpan (ē)
			swjip	<i>sweep</i>	swāpan
ijt	<i>eat</i>	etan	stjip	<i>steap</i>	stēap
hijt	<i>heat</i>	hāto	stijpl	<i>sterple</i>	stūpel
sijt	<i>seal</i>	sāti	sjip	<i>sheep</i>	scēp (ē)
swijt	<i>swet</i>	swāte	wjip	<i>weep</i>	wēpan
strijt	<i>street</i>	strāt (ē)	kjip	<i>keep</i>	cōpan
sjit	<i>sheet</i>	scēte	krijp	<i>creep</i>	crēopan
whijt	<i>wheel</i>	hwāte	tsjip	<i>cheap</i>	cēap
sjit	<i>feet</i>	fōt	dijp	<i>deep</i>	dēop
flijt	<i>fleet</i>	fōte			
		{ gemētan			ie
mijt	<i>meat</i>	{ mēte (ē)	ior	<i>ear</i>	{ ēar
		mēte			{ ēare
mijt	<i>meat</i>	metan	hiar	<i>here</i>	hār
mijt	<i>mete</i>	grētan	hiar	<i>hear</i>	gehōran
grijt	<i>greet</i>	{ bēatan	jior	<i>year</i>	gēar (gēr)
		{ bēot	rior	<i>rear</i>	rēran
bijt	<i>beat</i>	{ bitol	liar	<i>leer</i>	hlēor
		{ bētel	sior	<i>sear</i>	sēarian
bijt	<i>beetle</i>	blātan (ē)	smiar	<i>smear</i>	smēru
blijt	<i>bleat</i>	ālē	stiar	<i>stear</i>	stēoran
ijts	<i>each</i>	rūcan	spiar	<i>spear</i>	spere
rijts	<i>rench</i>	hrācan	fior	<i>shear</i>	sceran
rijts	<i>retch</i>	lāce (ē)	fior	<i>sheer</i>	skār
lijts	<i>leech</i>	besēcan	wior	<i>wier</i>	wer
bisijts	<i>beseech</i>	sprāc (ē)	wior	<i>wary</i>	wārig
spijts	<i>speech</i>	tūcan	fior	<i>fear</i>	fār (ē)
tijs	<i>teach</i>	būce	nior	<i>near</i>	nār
bijts	<i>beech</i>	brūc	mior	<i>mere</i>	mēre
brijts	<i>breach</i>	bryce	gior	<i>gear</i>	gearwe
brijts	<i>breach</i>	blācan	tior	<i>tear</i>	tēar
			dior	<i>deer</i>	dēor
			dior	<i>dear</i>	dēore
hijdt	<i>heed</i>	hōdan	driari	<i>dreary</i>	drēorig
rijdt	<i>reel</i>	hrēod	bior	<i>beer</i>	bēor
rijdt	<i>rale</i>	rād (ē)	bior	<i>bier</i>	bār (ē)
rijdt	<i>read</i>	rādan (ē)	blior	<i>blar</i>	blēre
lijdt	<i>lead</i>	lādan			
sijs	<i>seed</i>	sād (ē)	wiēd	<i>weird</i>	wyrd
stijdt	<i>steed</i>	stōda	bied	<i>beard</i>	beard
spijdt	<i>spear</i>	spōdan			
wijdt	<i>wheel</i>	wēod			
fijs	<i>feel</i>	fēdan			ei
nijdt	<i>need</i>	nēd	hei	<i>hay</i>	hēg
nijdt	<i>knead</i>	cnedan	jei	<i>yea</i>	gēa (gē)
nijdt	<i>needle</i>	nād (ē)			

(bi)rei	<i>bewray</i>	<i>wrægan</i>	<i>neiv</i>	<i>næve</i>	<i>naſu</i>
lei	<i>lay</i>	{ <i>læg</i>	<i>neiv</i>	<i>knave</i>	<i>cnafa</i>
ðei	<i>they</i>	{ <i>lēgan</i>	<i>neivl</i>	<i>navel</i>	<i>nafole</i>
sei	<i>say</i>	<i>þeir</i>	<i>kreiv</i>	<i>crave</i>	<i>-craſian</i>
alei	<i>slay</i>	<i>ſcogan</i>	<i>geiv</i>	<i>gave</i>	<i>gaf</i>
swei	<i>sway</i>	<i>alēan</i>	<i>greiv</i>	<i>grave</i>	<i>grof</i>
wei	<i>way</i>	<i>sveigja</i>	<i>steivs</i>	<i>staves</i>	<i>ſtafas</i>
wei	<i>wey</i>	<i>weg</i>			
whei	<i>whey</i>	<i>wæge</i> (ē)	<i>rein</i>	<i>rain</i>	<i>regn</i>
nei	<i>way</i>	<i>hwæg</i>	<i>lein</i>	<i>lane</i>	<i>lanc</i>
nei	<i>weigh</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>lein</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>gelegen</i>
mei		<i>hnægan</i>	<i>þein</i>	<i>thane</i>	<i>þegen</i>
klei	<i>clay</i>	<i>mæg</i>	<i>alein</i>	<i>slain</i>	<i>slægen</i>
grei	<i>gray, grey</i>	<i>clæg</i>	<i>swein</i>	<i>swain</i>	<i>svein</i>
dei	<i>day</i>	<i>græg</i> (ē)	<i>wein</i>	<i>wane</i>	<i>wanian</i>
plei	<i>play</i>	<i>dæg</i>	<i>wein</i>	<i>wain</i>	<i>wægn</i>
		<i>plegian</i>	<i>vein</i>	<i>vane</i>	<i>fana</i>
			<i>mein</i>	<i>wane</i>	<i>manu</i>
eil	<i>ale</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>mein</i>	<i>main</i>	<i>mægen</i>
eil	<i>ail</i>	<i>eglan</i>	<i>krein</i>	<i>crane</i>	<i>cran</i>
heil	<i>hale</i>	<i>hāl</i>	<i>twain</i>	<i>twain</i>	<i>twægen</i>
heil	<i>hail</i>	{ <i>hægl</i>	<i>drein</i>	<i>drain</i>	<i>drehnian</i>
seil	<i>sale</i>	{ <i>heil</i>	<i>bein</i>	<i>bane</i>	<i>bana</i>
seil	<i>sail</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>brein</i>	<i>brain</i>	<i>brægen</i>
sneil	<i>snail</i>	<i>segl</i>	(tſil)blein	(chill)blain	<i>blegen</i>
skeil	<i>scale</i>	<i>snægl</i>	<i>eint</i>	<i>am not</i>	<i>oom nāwiht</i>
weil	<i>weil</i>	<i>scalu</i>			
whel	<i>whale</i>	<i>weilāwei</i>	<i>leim</i>	<i>lame</i>	<i>lama</i>
neil	<i>nail</i>	<i>hwæl</i>	<i>seim</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>sami</i>
naittingeil	<i>nightingale</i>	<i>nægl</i>	<i>feim</i>	<i>shame</i>	<i>scamu</i>
teil	<i>tale</i>	<i>nehtegale</i>	<i>neim</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>nama</i>
teil	<i>tail</i>	<i>talū</i>	<i>keim</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>cwōm</i>
deil	<i>dale</i>	<i>tæg</i>	<i>geim</i>	<i>game</i>	<i>gamen</i>
peil	<i>pail</i>	<i>dæl</i>			
		<i>pægel</i>	<i>eik</i>	<i>ache</i>	<i>acan</i>
leið	<i>lathe</i>	<i>lqþ</i>	<i>eikar</i>	<i>acre</i>	<i>æcer</i>
sweið	<i>swathe</i>	<i>swēþian</i>	<i>eikon</i>	<i>acorn</i>	<i>æcern</i>
beið	<i>bathe</i>	<i>bapian</i>	<i>reik</i>	<i>rake</i>	<i>race</i>
reis	<i>race</i>	<i>rās</i>	<i>leik</i>	<i>lake</i>	<i>lacu</i>
weist	<i>wait</i>	<i>wæstm</i>	<i>seik</i>	<i>sake</i>	<i>sacu</i>
weist	<i>waste</i>	<i>wæstan</i>	<i>aleik</i>	<i>slake</i>	<i>slacian</i>
			<i>sneik</i>	<i>snake</i>	<i>snaca</i>
heizl	<i>hazel</i>	<i>hæsel</i>	<i>steik</i>	<i>stake</i>	<i>stacu</i>
reiz	<i>raise</i>	<i>reisa</i>	<i>steik</i>	<i>steak</i>	<i>steik</i>
greiz	<i>grase</i>	<i>grasian</i>	<i>speik</i>	<i>spake</i>	<i>spræc</i>
deizi	<i>daisy</i>	<i>dæges-æge</i>	<i>feik</i>	<i>shake</i>	<i>scacan</i>
breizn	<i>brazen</i>	<i>bræsen</i>	<i>weik</i>	<i>wake</i>	(on)wacan
bleiz	<i>blaze</i>	<i>blæse</i>	<i>weikn</i>	<i>waken</i>	(ā)wæcnian
			<i>fleik</i>	<i>flake</i>	<i>flaki</i>
tfeifer	<i>chafer</i>	<i>cæfer</i>	<i>neikid</i>	<i>naked</i>	<i>nacod</i>
			<i>meik</i>	<i>make</i>	<i>macian</i>
biheiv	<i>behave</i>	<i>behabban</i>	<i>keik</i>	<i>cake</i>	<i>kaka</i>
heivn	<i>haven</i>	<i>hqfn</i>	<i>kweik</i>	<i>quake</i>	<i>cwacian</i>
reivn	<i>raven</i>	<i>hræfn</i>	<i>teik</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>tacan</i>
feiv	<i>shave</i>	<i>scafan</i>	<i>beik</i>	<i>bake</i>	<i>bacan</i>
		{ <i>wafan</i>	<i>breik</i>	<i>brake</i>	<i>bræc</i>
weiv	<i>wave</i>	<i>wæg</i> (ē)	<i>breik</i>	<i>break</i>	<i>brecan</i>
weivor	<i>waver</i>	<i>vafra</i>	<i>eit</i>	<i>ate</i>	<i>æt</i>
			<i>eit</i>	<i>eight</i>	<i>sehta</i>

eit	<i>eyot</i>	<i>ēgaþ</i>	meor	<i>mare</i>	<i>meore</i>
heit	<i>hato</i>	<i>hatian</i>	keor	<i>care</i>	<i>caru</i>
leit	<i>late</i>	<i>late</i>	teor	<i>tear</i>	<i>teran</i>
skeit	<i>skate</i>	<i>skata</i>	tfeori	<i>chary</i>	<i>ceorig</i>
weit	<i>wright</i>	<i>gewihts</i>	deor	<i>dare</i>	<i>dearr</i>
geit	<i>gate</i>	<i>gæt</i>	peor	<i>pear</i>	<i>peru</i>
greit	<i>grat</i>	<i>græt</i>	beor	<i>bare</i>	<i>bær adj.</i>
beit	<i>bait</i>	<i>beita sb.</i>	beor	<i>bare</i>	<i>bær prt.</i>
beit	<i>bait</i>	<i>beita sb.</i>	beor	<i>bear</i>	<i>bera</i>
eitþ	<i>eighth</i>	<i>sehtopa</i>			<i>beran</i>
				uw	
reid	<i>raid</i>	<i>rād</i>	huw	<i>aho</i>	<i>hwā</i>
leid	<i>lude</i>	<i>hladan</i>	ruw	<i>rue</i>	<i>hrōwan</i>
leid	<i>laul</i>	<i>legde</i>	þruw	<i>threw</i>	<i>þrōw</i>
leidi	<i>lady</i>	<i>hlæfdige</i>	þruw	<i>through</i>	<i>þurh</i>
leidl	<i>ladle</i>	<i>hlædel</i>	aluw	<i>slew</i>	<i>alōg</i>
speid	<i>spade</i>	<i>sceadu</i>	struw	<i>strew</i>	<i>strēwian</i>
feid	<i>shade</i>	<i>wadan</i>	fuw	<i>shoe</i>	<i>sō</i>
weid	<i>wade</i>	<i>macode</i>	fuw	<i>shrew</i>	<i>scrēwa</i>
meid	<i>made</i>	<i>mæden</i>	wuw	<i>roo</i>	<i>wōgian</i>
meid(n)	<i>maid(en)</i>	<i>cradol</i>	fluw	<i>flew</i>	<i>flēah</i>
kreidl	<i>cradle</i>	<i>bregdan</i>	kruw	<i>crew</i>	<i>crōw</i>
breid	<i>braið</i>	<i>bled</i>	kluw	<i>claw</i>	<i>clēowe</i>
bleid	<i>blade</i>		gruw	<i>grew</i>	<i>grōw</i>
			taw	<i>too</i>	<i>tō</i>
eip	<i>ape</i>	<i>apa</i>	taw	<i>two</i>	<i>twā</i>
heipni	<i>halfpenny</i>	<i>healf pēning</i>	truw	<i>true</i>	<i>trōwe</i>
skreip	<i>scrape</i>	<i>scrapian</i>	tfuw	<i>chew</i>	<i>cōowan</i>
steipl	<i>staple</i>	<i>stapol</i>	duw	<i>do</i>	<i>dō(n)</i>
feip	<i>shape</i>	<i>skapa</i>	druw	<i>drew</i>	<i>drōg</i>
meipl	<i>maple</i>	<i>mapulder</i>	bruw	<i>brew</i>	<i>brōwan</i>
geip	<i>gape</i>	<i>gapa</i>	bluw	<i>blew</i>	<i>blōw</i>
teip	<i>tape</i>	<i>tæppe</i>			
teipor	<i>taper</i>	<i>tapor</i>	stuwl	<i>stool</i>	<i>stōl</i>
			skuwl	<i>school</i>	<i>scōl</i>
neibor	<i>neighbour</i>	<i>nēahgebūr</i>	tuwl	<i>tool</i>	<i>tōl</i>
			puwl	<i>pool</i>	<i>pōl</i>
	ee		ruwþ	<i>ruth</i>	<i>*hrōwþ</i>
eor	<i>ere</i>	<i>ēr</i>	suwþ	<i>sooth</i>	<i>sōþ</i>
heor	<i>hare</i>	<i>hara</i>	ankuwþ	<i>uncouth</i>	<i>uncūþ</i>
heor	<i>hair</i>	<i>hær (8)</i>	tuwþ	<i>tooth</i>	<i>tōþ</i>
ðeor	<i>there</i>	<i>þær (8)</i>	truwþ	<i>truth</i>	<i>trōwþ</i>
ðeor	<i>their</i>	<i>þeira</i>	buwþ	<i>booth</i>	<i>bōþ</i>
sweor	<i>sueur</i>	<i>swerian</i>			
sneor	<i>snare</i>	<i>sneare</i>	*muwð	<i>smoothe</i>	<i>smōþe</i>
steor	<i>stare</i>	<i>starian</i>	luws(n)	<i>loose(n)</i>	<i>lous(na)</i>
steor	<i>stair</i>	<i>stæger</i>	guws	<i>goose</i>	<i>gōs</i>
spear	<i>spare</i>	<i>sparian</i>	ruwat	<i>roost</i>	<i>hrōst</i>
feor	<i>share</i>	<i>scar</i>			
feor	<i>share</i>	<i>scaru</i>	uws	<i>ooze</i>	<i>wōs</i>
weor	<i>ware</i>	<i>war</i>	uwzl	<i>ousel</i>	<i>ōale</i>
weor	<i>wear</i>	<i>wērian</i>	luws	<i>lose</i>	<i>(for)lōsan</i>
wheor	<i>where</i>	<i>hwær (8)</i>	tfuws	<i>choose</i>	<i>cōosan</i>
feor	<i>fare</i>	<i>faran</i>	bruws	<i>bruise</i>	<i>brēsan</i>
feor	<i>fair</i>	<i>fæger</i>			
(fjld)feor	<i>fieldfare</i>	<i>felfor</i>	ruwf	<i>roof</i>	<i>hrōf</i>
(nait)meor	<i>nightmare</i>	<i>mare</i>			

foul	<i>shoal</i>	scolu	klouv	<i>clore</i>	clofe
foul	<i>foal</i>	fola	klouver	<i>clocer</i>	cläfre
noul	<i>knoll</i>	cnoll	klouvn	<i>cloten</i>	clöfen
moul	<i>mole</i>	mäl	grouv	<i>grove</i>	gräf
koul	<i>coal</i>	col	drouv	<i>drore</i>	dräf
toul	<i>toll</i>	toll			
doul	<i>dole</i>	gedäl	oun	<i>urn</i>	ägen
poul	<i>pole</i>	päl	houn	<i>hone</i>	hän
boul	<i>bole</i>	bol	ounli	<i>only</i>	änlic
boul	<i>boul</i>	bolla	loun	<i>loam</i>	län
boulster	<i>bolster</i>	bolster	eloun	<i>alone</i>	all äna
moultn	<i>molten</i>	molten	stoun	<i>stone</i>	stän
koult	<i>colt</i>	colt	floun	<i>floun</i>	flögen
koulter	<i>coulter</i>	culter	moun	<i>moan</i>	mänan
boult	<i>bolt</i>	bolt	groun	<i>groan</i>	gränian
ould	<i>old</i>	ald	droun	<i>drone</i>	drän
hould	<i>hold</i>	haldan	boun	<i>bone</i>	hän
sould	<i>sold</i>	salde	wount	<i>wont</i>	gewunod
fouldar	<i>shoulder</i>	sculdor	wount	<i>will not</i>	wile näwih
(sijp)fould	<i>fold</i>	fald			
fould	<i>fold</i>	faldan	houm	<i>home</i>	häm
mould	<i>mould</i>	molde	loum	<i>loam</i>	läm
kould	<i>cold</i>	cald	foum	<i>foam</i>	fäm
gould	<i>gold</i>	gold	koum	<i>comb</i>	camb
tould	<i>told</i>	talde			
bould	<i>bold</i>	bald	ouk	<i>oak</i>	äc
			oukem	<i>oakum</i>	äcumha
ouþ	<i>outh</i>	äþ	jouk	<i>yoke</i>	geoc
louþ	<i>loath</i>	läþ	jouk	<i>yolk</i>	geoca
slouþ	<i>sloth</i>	släwþ	souk	<i>soak</i>	socian
kwouþ	<i>quoth</i>	cwæþ	amouk	<i>smoke</i>	smocian
bouþ	<i>bäþir</i>	bäþir	strouk	<i>stroke</i>	sträcian
tronþ	<i>troth</i>	trëowþ	spouk	<i>spoke</i>	späca
					spræc
louð	<i>loathe</i>	läþian	spoukn	<i>spoken</i>	gespreccn
klouðz	<i>clothes</i>	cläþas	wouk	<i>woke</i>	(on)wöc
			fouk	<i>folk</i>	fölc
moust	<i>most</i>	märt	krouk	<i>croak</i>	cräcettan
goust	<i>ghost</i>	gäst	toukn	<i>token</i>	täcen
poust	<i>post</i>	post	tjouk	<i>choke</i>	ceocian
			pouk	<i>poke</i>	poki
houz	<i>hose</i>	hose	brouk	<i>broke</i>	bræc
rouz	<i>rose</i>	rose	broukn	<i>broken</i>	gebrocen
ðouz	<i>those</i>	räs			
frouzn	<i>frozen</i>	þäs	out(s)	<i>oat</i>	äte
nouz	<i>nose</i>	frozen	rou	<i>wrote</i>	wrät
tjouz	<i>chose</i>	noeu	prout	<i>throat</i>	prote
tjouzn	<i>chosen</i>	cëas	amout	<i>smote</i>	smät
		coren	(e)flout	<i>(a)float</i>	flot
ouf	<i>oaf</i>	self	flout	<i>float</i>	flotian
louf	<i>loaf</i>	hläf	mout	<i>mote</i>	mot
			gout	<i>goat</i>	gät
ouver	<i>over</i>	ofer	grout	<i>groat</i>	grot
houv	<i>hore</i>	höf	bout	<i>boat</i>	bät
bihouv	<i>behore</i>	behöfian			
stouv	<i>stove</i>	stofe	roud	<i>rode</i>	räd prt.
wouvn	<i>woven</i>	wefen	roud	<i>road</i>	räd sb.
kouv	<i>cove</i>	cöfa	loud(stoun)	<i>load(stone)</i>	läd
			stroud	<i>strode</i>	sträd
			woud	<i>woad</i>	wäd

goud	<i>goad</i>	gād	hos	<i>hoarse</i>	hās
toud	<i>toad</i>	tādige	kros	<i>cross</i>	kroos
boud	<i>boile</i>	bodian	gos	<i>gorse</i>	gorst
eboud	<i>aboile</i>	ābād	lost	<i>lost</i>	gelosed
			frost	<i>frost</i>	frost
oupn	<i>open</i>	open	of	<i>off</i>	of
houp	<i>hope</i>	hopa	ofn	<i>often</i>	oft
roup	<i>rope</i>	rāp	kof	<i>cough</i>	oohhottan
soup	<i>soap</i>	sāpe	trof	<i>trough</i>	trog
group	<i>grope</i>	grāpian	dwof	<i>dwarf</i>	dweorg
poup	<i>pope</i>	pāpa	loft	<i>loft</i>	loft
			soft	<i>soft</i>	sōfte
			kroft	<i>croft</i>	croft
o	<i>awe</i>	agi	on	<i>awn</i>	oġu
ho	<i>haw</i>	haga	hon	<i>horn</i>	horn
hoþon	<i>hawthorn</i>	haguporn	honit	<i>hornet</i>	hynetu
ro	<i>raw</i>	hrēaw	jon	<i>yawn</i>	geonian
lo	<i>law</i>	lagu	felon	<i>forlorn</i>	forloren
autlo	<i>outlaw</i>	ŋtlaga	þon	<i>thorn</i>	þorn
þo	<i>thaw</i>	þāwan	swon	<i>sworn</i>	sworen
		geesah	ʃon	<i>shorn</i>	scoren
so	<i>saw</i>	sage	won	<i>warn</i>	warnian
		sagu	fon	<i>fawn</i>	fægrian
stro	<i>straw</i>	strēaw	mon	<i>mourn</i>	murnan
ʃo	<i>shaw</i>	scaga	kon	<i>corn</i>	corn
no	<i>gnaw</i>	gnagan	gon	<i>gone</i>	gegān
mo	<i>maw</i>	maga	tōn	<i>torn</i>	toren
klo	<i>claw</i>	clawu	dōn	<i>dawn</i>	dagian
dro	<i>draw</i>	dragan	bon	<i>born(e)</i>	geboren
ol	<i>awl</i>	awel	hom	<i>haulm</i>	halm
ol	<i>all</i>	all	swom	<i>swarm</i>	swearm
hol	<i>hall</i>	hall	stom	<i>storm</i>	storm
þrol	<i>thrall</i>	þræll	wom	<i>warm</i>	wearm
smol	<i>small</i>	smæl	fomer	<i>former</i>	forma
stol	<i>stall</i>	stall	kwom	<i>qualm</i>	cwalm
stolwot	<i>stalwart</i>	stælwirþe	hok	<i>hawk</i>	hafoc
wol	<i>wall</i>	wall	stok	<i>stalk</i>	stalcian
wolnet	<i>walnut</i>	valhnot	stok	<i>stork</i>	storc
fol	<i>fall</i>	fallan	wok	<i>walk</i>	walcian
kol	<i>call</i>	ceallian	fok	<i>fork</i>	forca
krol	<i>crawl</i>	kraffa	mokif	<i>mawkish</i>	mapk
gol	<i>gall</i>	galla	tʃok	<i>chalk</i>	cealc
gold	<i>galled</i>	gallede	bok	<i>baulk</i>	balc
older	<i>alder</i>	aler	oġer	<i>auger</i>	nafoġār
oldemen	<i>alderman</i>	aldermann	ot	<i>ought</i>	āwiht
roþ	<i>wrath</i>	wræþþo	ot	<i>ought</i>	āhte
roþ	<i>wrath</i>	wrāþ	rot	<i>wrought</i>	worhte
swopi	<i>swarthy</i>	sweart	þot	<i>thought</i>	þōhte
foþ	<i>forth</i>	forþ	þwot	<i>thwart</i>	þwert
foþ	<i>fourth</i>	fēorþa	sot	<i>sought</i>	sōhte
froþ	<i>froth</i>	froþa	alotar	<i>slaughter</i>	slahtr
noþ	<i>north</i>	norþ	ʃot	<i>short</i>	soort
moþ	<i>moth</i>	moþþe	wot	<i>wart</i>	wearte
kloþ	<i>cloth</i>	clāþ			
broþ	<i>broth</i>	broþ			
hæ	<i>horse</i>	hors			

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woter	water	wæter	ai	aye	ei
fof	fought	fæht	hai	high	hēah
foti	forty	fēowertig	hai	hie	higian
fotijn	fourteen	fēowertēne	rai	rye	ryge
fotnait	fortnight	fēowertēne	lai	lie	licgan
		neht			lēogan
not	naught	nāwiht	lai	lye	lēag
tot	taught	tēhte	pai	thigh	pēoh
dōter	daughter	dohfor	sai	sigh	sican
pot	port	port	alai	aly	alēg
bot	bought	bohte	skai	sky	ský
brōt	brought	brōhte	stai	stye	stigu
otfēd	orchard	ortgeard	whai	why	hwý
skotf	scorch	skorpnā	fiai	fly	fīeoge
					fīeogan
odijl	ordcal	ordāl	nai	nigh	nēah
hod	hoard	hord	tai	tie	tēgan
lod	lord	hlāford	dai	dye	dēgan
sod	sword	sweord	dai	dies	dōyja
swod	sward	sweard	drai	dry	dryge
wod	ward	weard	bai	by	bi
fod	ford	ford	bai	buy	byogan
efod	afford	geforþian			
bod	board	bord	ailend	island	ēgland
brod	broad	brād	stail	stile	stigel
toz	towards	tōweardes	whail	while	whil
			whail (st)	whilst	þā-while-pe
wop	warp	wearp	fail	file	fil
		weorpan	(di)fail	(de)file	fýlan
	oe		tail	tile	tigole
			mail	māle	mil
or	or	āhwæper	pail	pile	pil
or	oar	ār			wilde
ore	ore	ōra	waild	wild	milde
hōr	hoar	hār	maild	mild	cild
hōr	whore	hōre	tfaild	child	
hor(h)and	horehound	hārehūne			
jor	yore	gēara	aiðer	either	ēgþer
ror	roar	rārian	raið	writhe	wriþan
lor	lore	lār	laið	lithe	liþe
sor	sore	sār	saið	scythe	sipe
swor	swore	swōr	naiðer	neither	*nægþer
skor	score	scoru	taið	tithe	tēogopian
for	for	for	blaið	blithe	blipe
bifor	before	beforan			
for	four	fēower	ais	ice	is
flor	floor	fłor	lais	lice	lys
nor	nor	nāhwæper	þrais	thrice	þriwa
mōr	more	māre	mais	twice	mýs
gor	gore	gāra	twais	twice	twiwa
dor	door	duru	kraist	christ	crist
bor	bore	borian	rais	rise	arisan
bor	boar	bār	waiz	wise	wis
	ai				wise
ai	i	ic	laif	life	lif
ai	eye	ēage	waiþ	wife	wif
			naif	knife	cnif

aiv	<i>try</i>	iſg	whait	<i>white</i>	hwit
haiv	<i>hive</i>	hyf	fait	<i>fight</i>	feohtan
elaiv	<i>alire</i>	on life	frait	<i>fright</i>	fyrhto
praiv	<i>thrive</i>	þriſaſk	ſait	<i>ſight</i>	flyht
faiv	<i>fire</i>	fiſe	ſait	<i>ſlight</i>	flyht 'fleeing'
ſraiv	<i>ſhrive</i>	ſcriſan	nait	<i>night</i>	nçht
daiv	<i>dir</i>	dýſan	nait	<i>knight</i>	cnihht
draiv	<i>drive</i>	drifan	mait	<i>mite</i>	mite
lain	<i>line</i>	line	mait	<i>might</i>	mçht
ſai(n)	<i>thine, thy</i>	þin	kait	<i>kite</i>	mæhte
ſwain	<i>swine</i>	ſwin	tait	<i>tight</i>	cýta
ſain	<i>shrine</i>	ſcinan	dait	<i>dight</i>	þeht
ſrain	<i>shrine</i>	ſcrin	plait	<i>plight</i>	dihtan
wain	<i>wine</i>	win	bait	<i>bite</i>	pliht
whain	<i>whine</i>	hwinan	brait	<i>bright</i>	bitan
nain	<i>nine</i>	nigon	blait	<i>blight</i>	beorht
mai(n)	<i>mine, my</i>	min	raitſes	<i>righteous</i>	blecþa
kain	<i>kye</i>	cý			rehtwis
twain	<i>twine</i>	twín	aidl	<i>ille</i>	idel
pain	<i>pine</i>	{ pinian	haid	<i>hide</i>	{ hid
brain	<i>brine</i>	{ pin(tréow)			{ hyd
haind	<i>hind</i>	{ bryne	raid	<i>ride</i>	{ hýdan
bihaïnd	<i>behind</i>	{ hind	ſaid	<i>side</i>	ridan
raind	<i>rind</i>	{ hiwa	alaid	<i>slide</i>	ſide
waind	<i>wind</i>	{ behindan	ſtraid	<i>stride</i>	alidan
faïnd	<i>find</i>	{ rind	waid	<i>scide</i>	ſtridan
kaïnd	<i>kind</i>	{ windan	fraidi	<i>friday</i>	wid
graind	<i>grind</i>	{ findan	glaid	<i>glide</i>	frige-dæg
baïnd	<i>bind</i>	{ gecynd	taid	<i>tide</i>	glidan
blaïnd	<i>blind</i>	{ gecynde	taidingz	<i>tidings</i>	tid
		{ grindan	tſaid	<i>chide</i>	tipendi
		{ bindan	praid	<i>pride</i>	cidan
		{ blind	baid	<i>bul</i>	prýte
raim	<i>rhyme</i>	rim	braid	<i>bride</i>	bidan
raim	<i>rine</i>	hrim	braidl	<i>bride</i>	bryd
laim	<i>lime</i>	{ lim		<i>brülle</i>	bridela
klaim	<i>climb</i>	{ linden	raip	<i>ripe</i>	ripe
taim	<i>time</i>	{ climban	anaip	<i>snipe</i>	ſnite
laik	<i>like</i>	{ tūna	waip	<i>wipe</i>	wipian
ſtraik	<i>strike</i>	gelic	graip	<i>gripe</i>	gripan
ſraik	<i>shrike</i>	ſtrican	paip	<i>pipe</i>	pipe
daik	<i>dyke</i>	ſcrie			
paik	<i>pike</i>	dic			
		pic			
hait	<i>height</i>	hēhþo	haior	<i>hire</i>	hýran
rait	<i>right</i>	reht	ſpaior	<i>spire</i>	ſpír
rait	<i>write</i>	writan	ſaior	<i>shire</i>	ſcír
rait	<i>wright</i>	wyrhta	waior	<i>wire</i>	wir
elaht	<i>alight</i>	alihtan	ſaior	<i>fire</i>	fýr
lait	<i>light</i>	leoht 'levis'	maior	<i>miſe</i>	mýr
lait	<i>light</i>	leoht	taior	<i>tiſe</i>	teorian
laitning	<i>lightning</i>	lēgetu	braior	<i>briar</i>	brære
ſait	<i>sight</i>	geſihþ			
ſlait	<i>slight</i>	ſleht	aior-n	<i>iron</i>	iren
ſlait	<i>slight</i>	ſlōgþ			
ſmaït	<i>smite</i>	ſmītan			
wait	<i>wight</i>	wiht	hau	<i>how</i>	hu
			þau	<i>thou</i>	þu

sau	sow	sugu	saund	sound	{sund
slau	slough	slög	waund	wound	{gesund
nau	now	nü	faund	fouul	gewunden
kau	cow	{cü	graund	grouul	funden
trau	traw	{küga	paund	pound	grund
plau	plough	trëowian	baund	bounul	{pund
bau	bow	plöh			{punian
bau	bough	bögan			{bunden
brau	brow	bög			{bün
		brü			
aul	owl	nle	aut	out	üt
faul	fowl	fugol	wiðaut	without	wipütan
faul	foul	fül	laut	lout	lütan
kaul	cowl	cugle	klaut	clout	clüt
			dauti	doughty	dyhtig
			draut	drought	drügäp
			əbaut	about	yimbütan
saup	south	süp	laud	loud	hlud
maup	mouth	müp	fraud	shroul	scrüd
haus	house	hüs	kraud	crowul	crüdan
laus	louse	lüs	klaud	clowl	clüd
maus	mouse	müs	praud	proul	prüt
(tit)maus	(tit; mouse)	mäse			
þauzend	thousand	þüsend		auē	
drauzi	dröwzy	drüsan	auer	our	fure
taun	town	tün	sauer	sour	sür
daun	down	{ofdüne	fauer	shwer	scür
		{dün 'feathers'	bauer	bower	bür
braun	brown	brün			
graunsl	groundsel	gundeswilge		oi	
haund	hound	hünd	boil	boil	byle
hoehaund	horehound	häre-hüne			

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TABLES.

I. SOUND-CHANGE.

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A. INTERNAL ISOLATIVE.

voice *is* breath, through whisper, esp. in stops (50). also in vowels.

Vowels.

short widened, long narrowed (53).

high become unsyllabic (54).

place. short lowered, long raised (55). back to front, gen. through mixed (57).
front to mixed (59).

rounding. back to rounding, front to unrounding (60). abnormal (62).

diphthonging of long vowels (63). smoothing of diphthongs (70). short
diphthongs (73). glide to cons. (74).

loss (75).

contraction (78).

Consonants.

form. *weakenings*: stop to open, esp. when voiced (79). nasal to open (81).
stop to side (82). side to open (83). open to vowel (84). open breath to breath
glide (87). *strengthenings*: open to stop (88). trilling (89).place. back to throat (90). front to back (92). forward to back (93).
forward to front (94). lip to lip-teeth (95). forward to lip (96). other changes
of forward (98). inversion (100). rounding, esp. of back open (102). *l* (104).
cleaving (105). smoothing (106). loss (107). addition (108).

Quantity.

unstressed sounds shortened; short vowel + long cons. and vice-versa; cons.
shortened (110). high vowels shortened (112). length-shifting in diphthongs
(113). cons.-influence (114). different languages (116). infl. on other changes
(117).

Force.

force-shifting in diphthongs (118). alternation in stress (119). want of stress
(120). free stress (121). stress-shifting (122). influence on other changes (124).

Intonation.

word-intonation (127). sentence-intonation (128). connection with stress (129).
to glottal stop (132). infl. on other changes (133).

Transposition.

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A*b*. INTERNAL COMBINATIVE.

forwards, backwards; partial, complete (136).
 breath and voice (137). aspiration (140).
 vowel harmony (141).
 front-modification (142). mutation (145). diphthongic mutation (147).
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 nasalising (153). modifies vowel-formation (156).
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kw to *p* (168). development of *t*/*f* etc (169). *sj* to *f* (172).

B. ACOUSTIC.

isolative and combinative (173). vowel-pairs (174). striving after audibility (176). some changes partly acoustic, partly organic (176).

C. EXTERNAL CHANGES.

formal analogy (178). logical analogy (179). popular etymology (180). complete and partial influence (181). blendings (181). differentiation (182). retardation of organic change (183).

D. GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

principles of economy: (*a*) dropping of superfluous sounds; (*b*) ease of transition (185). economy of exertion doubtful (186). fluctuation (187).

II. FORMS OF LETTERS.

Capitals.	Minuscules.	Black Letter.	Cursive.
A	a	Ȧ	ɑ
AE	æ ç	Æ	æ
B	b	Ḃ	b
C	c	Ḅ	c
D	b d ð	Ḋ	d
E	e	Ḕ	e
F	f f	Ḟ	f
G	ǧ g	Ḡ	g
H	h	Ḣ	h
I	i i j	Ḧ	i j
K	k	Ḥ	k
L	l	Ḧ	l
M	m	Ḣ	m
N	n	Ḥ	n
O	o	Ḣ	o
P	p	Ḣ	p
Q	q	Ḣ	q
R	ṛ r	Ḣ	r
S	s j f	Ḣ	s
T	ṽ t	Ḣ	t
V	v u	Ḣ u	v u
VV	w	Ḣ	w
X	x	Ḣ	x
Y	y ý	Ḣ	y
Z	z ç	Ḣ	z

III. ENGLISH VOWELS.

OE	ME	LE
mann	man	mæn
sæt	sat	sæt
heard	hard	haad
nama	nāme	neim
witan	witen	wit
helpan	helpen	help
heofon	hevene	hevn
stelan	stēlen	stijl
ende	ende	end
mēte	mēte	mijt
sunu	sune	swn
synn	sinne	sin
oxa	oxe	oks
open	ōpen	oupn
stān	stōn	stoun
dāl	dēl	dijl
drēam	drēm	drijm
win	win	wain
grēne	grēne	grijn
dēop	dēp	dijp
hūs	hūs	haus
mōd	mōd	muwd
fȳr	fīr	faier

IV. OLD-ENGLISH DIALECTS.

Time	eWS	lWS	eKt	lKt	Merc.	North.
	monn, a	a	o, a	a	o	o
	heard	ea	ea	ea	ea	ea, a
a	call, a	ea	ea, a	ea	a	a
	geseah	ea	ea	ea	æ	æ
	geaf	ea	æ	æ	æ	æ
e	weorc	eo	eo	eo	e	e
a-i	ierfe	y	ē	ē	ē	ē
i	bierhtu	y	i	i	i	i
ge	giellan	y	e	e	e	e
ka-i	ciele	y	ē	ē	ē	ē
u-i	synn	y	y	e	y	y
o-i	ele	e	æ	e	e	æ
æ	dād	ā	ē	ē	ē	ē
jæ	gēar	ēa	ē	ē	ē	ē
au-i	hieran	ȳ	ē	ē	ē	ē
eu-i	gesiene	ȳ	ē	ē	ē	ē
aug	ēage	ēa	ēa	ēa	ē	ē
eug	fleogan	ēo	ēo	ēo	ē	ē
u-i	fȳr	ȳ	ē	ē	ȳ	ȳ
ū-i	grēne	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē

V. MIDDLE-ENGLISH DIALECTS.

OE	sth	EMI	Kt	Ch
o, a	mon	a	a	a
æ	þæt	a	a, e	a
ea	hærd	a	a	a
ā, ea	ōld	ā	ya	ō
eo	eorþe	eo, e	ye	e
y	stünne	i	e	i
ā	stōn	ā	ō	ō
ēa	dēd	ē	ya	ē
ēo	dēovel	ēo, ē	ye	ē
y	vūr	i	ē	i

VI MODERN ENGLISH VOWELS.

IME	fMn		aMn	thMn	LE
a	<i>man</i>	æ, a	æ	æ	æ
	<i>path</i>	æ, a	ææ	ææ	ææ
i	<i>wit</i>	i	i	i	i
e	<i>end</i>	e	e	e	e
u	<i>son</i>	u	u	u	u
o	<i>ox</i>	o	o	o	o
ā	<i>name</i>	ææ, ææ	ee	ee	ei, ei
ī	<i>wine</i>	ei	ei	ei	ei, ai
ē	<i>green</i>	ii	ii	ii	ij
ē	<i>deal</i>	ee	ee	ee, ii	
ū	<i>house</i>	ou	eu	eu	eu, æu
ō	<i>moon</i>	uu	uu	uu	uw, ūw
ō	<i>stone</i>	oo	oo	oo	ou, au
ai	<i>day</i>	ai, ee	æi, ee	ee	ei, ei
ei	<i>they</i>	ei, ee	ee		
oi	<i>boil</i>	oi, ui	oi, ai	oi, ei	oi, ei
au	<i>saw</i>	au, oo	oo	oo	oo
eu (ū)	<i>new</i>	yy(u), iu	yy, iu	juu	jw, jw
ēu	<i>few</i>	eu	eu, iu		
ōu	<i>grow</i>	ou	ou, oo	oo	ou, au
ōu	<i>know</i>				

CONTRACTIONS.

<i>AE</i> = <i>Aene</i> .	<i>g</i> = <i>Glossary</i> .
<i>AEZ</i> = <i>Aene & Zephirus</i> .	<i>G</i> = <i>German</i> .
<i>AE</i> = <i>Anglo</i> .	<i>Gm</i> = <i>Germanic</i> .
<i>AF</i> = <i>Anglo-French</i> .	<i>Gra</i> = <i>Greek</i> .
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<i>Am</i> = <i>American</i> .	
<i>AE</i> = <i>Anglo-English</i> .	<i>Had</i> = <i>Haddan MS.</i>
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Hec</i> = <i>Morris's Old-English Homilies</i> .
<i>Am</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Ha</i> = <i>Hart</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Hng</i> = <i>Hungarian</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Hv</i> = <i>Havelland</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>HVg</i> = <i>Welsh Hymn to the Virgin</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Icel</i> = <i>Modern Icelandic</i> .
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<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Jc</i> = <i>Jones</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Jcl</i> = <i>St. Juliana</i> .
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<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>L</i> = <i>Late</i> .
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<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Lav</i> = <i>Lavamon</i> .
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<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Leechd.</i> = <i>Cockayne's Leechdoms</i> .
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<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Lat</i> = <i>Latin</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>LV</i> = <i>Liber Vitae (OET)</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>M</i> = <i>Middle</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Marg.</i> = <i>St. Margaret</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Merc.</i> = <i>Mercian</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>Mg</i> = <i>Miege</i> .
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<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>N</i> = <i>North</i> .
<i>Ar</i> = <i>Anglo-Arabic</i> .	<i>North.</i> = <i>Northumbrian, Northern</i> .
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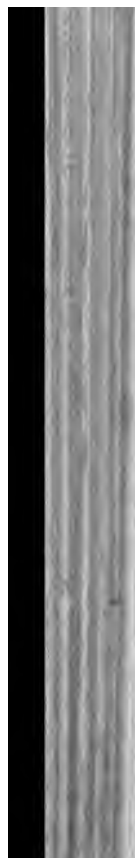
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